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LEWIS CHAUCER OR LEWIS CLIFFORD?

For some years I have suspected that the little Lewis to whom Chaucer dedicated his *Treatise on the Astrolabe* was perhaps not his own son, but the son of his friend Sir Lewis Clifford. The hypothesis is worth considering.

It is generally admitted that, when Chaucer specifies "the year of our Lord 1391" in Part II, section 1, he is designating the current year. The inference may be accepted without hesitation, in default of any conceivable reason to the contrary.

Further, there are no good grounds for interpreting Chaucer's March 12, 1391, as March 12, 1392. In an astronomical work like the *Astrolabe*, the presumption is that he began his calendar with January 1, not with March 25. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that such was the practice of Nicholas of Lynn, one of the authorities to whom he acknowledges indebtedness. Nor is this all. Immediately after mentioning March 12, 1391, Chaucer mentions December 13. Obviously he refers to the following winter, for we cannot suppose that he is working backward in the calendar. December 13, 1391, would, of course, be earlier, not later, than March 12, 1391-2. This consideration raises the general probability to a practical certainty.¹ We may therefore take it as settled that the *Astrolabe* was written in 1391. There is no likelihood that the

¹Professor Samuel Moore, who argues strongly for 1392, has overlooked this point (*Modern Philology*, X, 203-5).

composition of so short a piece was spread over two or three years.¹

Now Sir Lewis Clifford had a son Lewis who died in this very year, 1391. The evidence is documentary and conclusive.

On October 12, 1390, Sir Lewis Clifford had King Richard's license to acquire from the Abbot of Préaux, in Normandy, certain English manors for life, with remainder for life to Lewis his son.² On the sixth of the following December, there was a further grant to Clifford, and to his son Lewis in survivorship, in enlargement of that of October 12.³ This son was alive on June 30, 1391, as is shown by still another grant, relating to the same matters.⁴ He died, however, in that year, on the 22d of October, for, on October 22, 1392, Henry, Earl of Derby, then at the castle of Prague, made an offering "in die anniversarii filii Lowys Clifford."⁵

Chronology, then, seems rather favorable to my suggestion. We may conjecture, if we will, that it was the sudden death of Lewis Clifford the younger that made Chaucer drop his pen in the middle of a sentence when the *Astrolabe* was still far from completion.

¹ Chaucer was clearly writing in 1391—there is no other reasonable cause that can be conceived for his mentioning that particular year. But the days mentioned (March 12 and December 13) were selected, not with reference to the time of writing, but as marking the vernal equinox and the winter solstice. The processes would suit those two days in any year. For vividness, Chaucer described these sample observations in the form of a narrative in the first person. He was writing from the point of view of such future students as might use his textbook, and for them, of course, the dates mentioned would be points in the past. Indeed, they might, and very probably would, be points in the past to little Lewis himself by the time he received the manuscript. The treatise was to be in five parts, and the dates occur at the very beginning of Part II. Clearly, then, the tenses are not usable in any argument against my hypothesis. I speak of them, not because I think they are real difficulties, but in order that my readers may not suppose that I have overlooked the use that hasty or adverse reasoners might make of them.

² "Licence for Lewis de Clifford to acquire for life, with remainder to Lewis his son, for life, the manors of Toftes, co. Norfolk, Warmynton, co. Warwick, Spectebury, co. Dorset, and Aston, co. Berks, . . . from the abbot and convent of Préaux in Normandy" (*Calendar of Patent Rolls 1388-92*, p. 306; 14 Richard II, pt. 1, m. 21). On this priory see further *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, p. 357; 1401-5, p. 263; 1405-8, pp. 18, 295; *Inq. p. M.* (folio), iii. 210 b; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 2d ed., viii. 62, 63; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ed. Ellis and others, vi. pt. 2, p. 1027.

³ *Calendar 1388-92*, p. 355 (14 Richard II, pt. 2, m. 46).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 456 (15 Richard II, pt. 1, m. 36).

⁵ "Item in oblationibus domini ibidem [sc. in castello de Prake] in die anniversarii filii Lowys Clifford xxi] die Octobris, xv gr." (*Expeditions . . . Made by the Earl of Derby*, ed. Toulmin Smith for the Camden Society, 1894, p. 275; cf. Miss Toulmin Smith's note, p. 312).

Sir Lewis Clifford, whose brilliant career has been studied in the first volume of *Modern Philology*,¹ and more recently in a learned paper on "The Lollard Knights" by Mr. W. T. Waugh,² was not only a gallant gentleman and a personal friend of the poet's: he was also a trusted adherent of John of Gaunt³ and himself a power in the realm. Moreover, he appears to have felt some interest in literature, both French and English. It would manifestly have been natural enough for Chaucer to dedicate a volume either to Sir Lewis Clifford or to Clifford's heir. Miss Rickert has recently made the really brilliant discovery that the balade of *Truth* was addressed to Clifford's son-in-law, Sir Philip la Vache.⁴

The terms in which Chaucer addresses the boy to whom he dedicates the *Astrolabe* are quite consistent with the hypothesis that "little Lewis" was Lewis Clifford. "Lyte Lowys my sone" he calls him, and again, "my litle sone." Such language, as everybody is aware, was customary in those days (and centuries thereafter) from an older man to a young friend,⁵ particularly to one whom he was instructing or toward whom he stood in any tutorial or advisory relation. The *Book of Courtesy* begins, "Mi dere sone,"⁶ and John Russell, in his *Book of Nurture*, uses the vocative "son" continually.⁷ A striking example, from Chaucer's own circle, is afforded by the well-known *Moral Balade* in which Henry Scogan addresses Prince Hal and his three brothers⁸ as "my noble sons" and speaks of himself as their "father."

My noble sones, and eek my lordes dere,
I, your fader called unworthily,
Sende unto you this litle tretys here.⁹

¹ I, 6-13.

² *Scottish Historical Review*, 1913, xi. 58-63, 88-92.

³ Nobody knows whose son Sir Lewis was. In *John of Gaunt's Register*, March 21, 1373, we read "que les villes de Houxham, Colyn Johan et Stokes, sont a une honoree dame q'est taunte a nostre bien ame chivaler monsire Lowys de Clifford" and that the Duke issues certain instructions to protect this lady in her rights (ed. Armitage-Smith, No. 293, i. 125). This entry seems to connect him with the Cliffords of Devonshire. The clue is worth following, but this is not the place to attempt it.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XI, 209 ff.

⁵ I am not overlooking the fact that son might mean godson; but it is likely that the sponsors of Lewis the younger were greater personages than Chaucer.

⁶ Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, p. 27 (cf. p. 34).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁸ Afterwards the Dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester.

⁹ Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, p. 237 (cf. p. xlii).

In at least one point the style used by Chaucer in his dedicatory chapter seems distinctly more in keeping with my hypothesis than with the idea that he is speaking to his own little boy:

Lyte Lowys my sone, I aperceyve wel by certeyne evydences thyn abilitie to lerne sciences touching nombres and proporciouns; and as wel conside I thy bisy praier in special to lerne the tretys of the Astrolabie. Than for as mochel as a filosofre saith, "*He wrappith him in his frend that condescendith to the rightfull praiers of his frend,*" therefore have I yeven the a suffisant astrolabie as for our orizonte, etc.

Chaucer might, no doubt, call his own ten-year-old son his "friend" if he chose, but the term is more natural if he is writing to the son of Sir Lewis Clifford.

My hypothesis is offered with no positiveness, but merely as an alternative that may some day be proved or disproved. As the known facts stand, it explains them all quite as well as they are explained by the current view. If, however, someone should be able to establish the existence of a Lewis Chaucer of suitable age, or to demonstrate that Lewis Clifford the younger was not about ten years old when he died, the case would of course be lost.

Certain facts about Sir Lewis Clifford's family life are on record, but they do not fix the year of his son's birth.

Sir Roger la Ware (Warre) died on August 27, 1370,² leaving a widow named Eleanor,³ who, on or about November 26 of the same year, took the customary oath not to marry again without the king's license.⁴ On January 27, 1373, she is mentioned as the wife of Sir Lewis Clifford,⁵ on June 18, 1387, she is mentioned as deceased.⁶

¹ It is scarcely necessary to remark that this verb means simply "to accede" carrying no hint of the modern idea of condescension.

² *Wiltshire Inquisitiones*, iii, 360 (cf. folio *Inq. p. M.*, ii, 305).

³ She is mentioned in his will, April 28, 1368 (Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i, 75). See also *Final Concords of the Co. of Lancaster*, ed. Farrer, ii, 157 (Record Society, Lancashire and Cheshire); *Inq. ad quod Damnum, Lists and Indexes*, No. 22, p. 509; *Papal Registers, Petitions*, i, 498, 521, 522; *Papal Registers, Letters*, iv, 54.

⁴ *Cal. Close Rolls 1369-74*, p. 160.

⁵ *Feet of Fines*, Case 288, File 50, No. 754. There is a partial summary in Emanuel Green's *Pedes Finium for the County of Somerset*, [iii.] 192 (Somerset Record Society, xvii). She is mentioned again as Sir Lewis's wife on February 12, 1373 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1370-74*, p. 246).

⁶ *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1385-89*, p. 310.

Her marriage to Sir Lewis probably took place not long before January 27, 1373, for the record of that date is a fine by which she and her present husband (Sir Lewis) released her rights of dower in certain real estate to her former husband's heir, Sir John la Warre, Sir Roger's son by a former marriage. If Lewis Clifford the younger was the son of Sir Lewis and Eleanor, we have, then, approximately 1373-87 as the limits for the date of his birth, so that he may conceivably have been anywhere from four to seventeen years of age in 1391.

It is, indeed, schematically possible that Lewis the son was even older; for his father Lewis had been married before, though when or to whom we cannot tell. Sir Lewis had a daughter Elizabeth, who was aged seventeen and upwards in June, 1379,¹ and who therefore cannot have been the offspring of Dame Eleanor.² If Lewis the younger was the son of Clifford's first wife, we first hear of him when he was almost of age. This would be odd enough, in view of his father's activity and conspicuous position. On the whole, we are

¹ *Chancery Inq. p. M.*, 2 Richard II, File 4, No. 20.

² Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lewis Clifford, was successively the wife of Sir John Lenveyss the younger and of Sir Philip la Vache. She married Lenveyss before November 20, 1373, and in 1374 he settled valuable estates on her for life (*Wiltshire Inquisitiones*, iii. 378; *Inq. ad quod Damnum, Lists and Indexes*, No. 22, p. 589; *Grossi Fines in Rot. Orig. Abbrev.*, ii. 333a; folio *Cal. Inq. p. M.*, ii. 330 b; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1370-74*, p. 422; *Chancery Inq. p. M.*, 2 Richard II, File 4, No. 20, and Richard II, 9, No. 43). Lenveyss died on October 26, 1379, without issue, and she was found to be jointly enfeoffed with him for life in the manors of Hogenorton (Hook Norton) and Cudlynton (Kidlington), Oxfordshire, in a third part of the manor of Wittenham, Berks, in the manor of Coumbe Byset (Coombe Bisset), Wilts (except ten acres), and in a moiety of the manor of Magna Missyngdene (Great Missenden or Mussenden), Bucks, with the advowson of the Abbey of Missyngdene (*Chancery Inq. p. M.*, Richard II, File 9, No. 43). Thus she brought a good income to Sir Philip la Vache when she married him, as she did in less than four months—by February 9, 1380 (*Feet of Fines*, Case 21, File 103, No. 8, old 24). She is also mentioned as Sir Philip's wife in the Close Rolls on April 12, 1380 (*Calendar 1377-81*, p. 299), in a Cambridge fine of 3 Richard II (June 22, 1379-June 21, 1380: *Pedes Finium relating to the Co. of Cambridge*, ed. Rye, Camb. Antiq. Soc., Octavo Publ., No. 26, p. 131), and in the Patent Rolls on July 2, 1380 (*Calendar 1377-81*, p. 526). Other references occur in 1382 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, p. 162), 1383 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, p. 264; cf. *Inq. ad quod Damnum, Lists and Indexes*, No. 22, p. 627), 1385 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1381-85*, p. 577), 1399 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1396-99*, p. 553), 1404 Sir Lewis Clifford's will: Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 342; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 165; Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 431), 1405 (*Cat. Anc. Deeds*, iii. 520, D 977), 1407 (Sir Philip's will, Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 376; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 171; Rickert, *Modern Philology*, xi, 222), 1409 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls 1408-13*, p. 59). She died on March 5, 1414 (*Chancery Inq. p. M.*, Henry V, File 2, No. 24; Beltz, *Order of the Garter*, p. 376; cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1413-16*, p. 169).

pretty safe in regarding him as the son of Dame Eleanor, and in fixing his age in 1391 as somewhere between four and seventeen. I trust that somebody will soon arrive at a closer approximation.¹

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¹ William Clifford of Bobbing and Sutton Valence, Kent, who figures at times as the ancestor of the Lords Clifford of Chudleigh, has often been assigned as son to Sir Lewis Clifford, either conjecturally or positively (see, for example, Collins, *Peerage*, ed. 1756 v. 221, ed. Brydges, 1812, vii. 121; Polwhele, *History of Devonshire*, ii. 121; Hasted, *Kent*, 2d ed., v. 369, vi. 195; Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 432, n. 2; cf. Whitaker's *Craven*, ed. Morant, p. 314, n. ¶; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, xvii. 825). Identity of arms, and the fact that William had a son and a great-grandson named Lewis (*Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 432, n. 2; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1436-41*, pp. 470-71, 488, 500; *Cal. Inq. p. M., Henry VII*, i. 428) certainly indicate some relationship; but there is nothing whatever to prove that Sir Lewis was William's father. One consideration, indeed, overlooked by the genealogists, seems pretty strong evidence to the contrary: in the *inquisitio post mortem* of Sir Lewis's daughter, Dame Elizabeth, widow of Sir Philip la Vache, held at Woodstock in 1414, the jurors aver that they do not know who her next heir is (*Chancery Inquisitions post Mortem*, Henry V, File 2, No. 24). Oxfordshire was a long way from Kent in the fifteenth century, but all the persons concerned were well-known gentry, and the statement of the jurors is rather odd if William Clifford (who survived until 1437: *Scrope and Grosvenor Roll*, ii. 432, n. 2; folio *Cal. Inq. p. M.*, iv. 182a) was Dame Elizabeth's brother or her half-brother on her father's side.

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HUNTING SONGS

In his *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Puttenham states that "one Gray" obtained the favor of Henry VIII "for making certaine merry Ballades, whereof one chiefly was *The hunte is up, the hunte is up.*" William Cornish, a poet and musician rewarded by the same monarch, is probably the author of another popular song of the period:

Blow thy horne, Hunter,
Come blow thy horne one hye,
In yonder wode there lyeth a doo,
In fayth she woll not dye.¹

From these early compositions to Sir Henry Newbolt's *A Song of Exmoor* and John Davidson's *A Runnable Stag*—probably the finest of modern hunting poems—the joys and excitement of the chase have been worthily celebrated in English verse. If an anthology of such lyrics were to be made, certainly it should include two seventeenth-century songs in MS Rawl. Poet. 246, especially, as John Ashton remarks in his *Century of Ballads*, since there are but few sporting ballads of this period and "most of those few are marred by allusions that cannot be printed in a book like this." So far as I can ascertain, these two songs have not been published.

MS Rawl. Poet. 246, to quote F. Maddan's *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library*, III, 339, consists of "Poems and pieces in English and Latin, evidently collected by a Cambridge (King's College?) man who had been at Eton, relating to a period of about 1620–1660." These poems which I print are unsigned. We at least may say that they were written by one who enjoyed hunting. One of the most interesting features of the second song is the list of the dogs. In reading it we remember Lear's

The little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanche and Sweet-heart, see they bark at me.

On this point, no other early hunting song surpasses it. "The Hunter's Ballade" in *Deuteromelia, or the Second Part of Musick's Melodie*, 1609, has several old names of hounds:

¹ *Anglia*, XII, 262.

It is like to be fayre weather,
couple up all thy hounds together;
Couple *Jolly* with little *Lolly*,
couple *Trole* with old *Trolly*,
With a hey trolly lo.

Couple *Finch* with black *Trole*,
couple *Chaunter* with *Jumbole*;
Let *Beauty* goe at liberty,
for she doth know her duty.
With a hey trolly lo.¹

In the *Roxburghe Ballads*, I, 360 is a hunting poem dating from the last years of Charles II. It too contains a list of hounds, but not such a good one as our Oxford poem offers:

There was Dido, and Sparker,
And Younker was there,
And Ruler, that ne'er looks behind him;
There was Rose and Bonny Lass,
Who were always in the chace;
These were parts of the hounds that did find him.

This song, "The Fox-Chace: or The Huntsman's Harmony, by the Noble Duke of Buckingham's Hounds," was a popular one; certain stanzas of it survive, in altered form, in Devon folk-song of the present. D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719, has two hunting songs that continue the tradition. In "Brother Solon's Hunting Song. Sung by Mr. Doggett," we find such a couplet as

When Ringwood and Rockwood, and Jowler and Spring,
And Thunder and Wonder made all the Woods ring.

while in "The Fox-Hunter. A Song in My New Comedy of the Bath," we hear of

Tossopot and *Ruler*,
Capper and *Cooler*,
Pompey and *Gallant*, Low 'em on.²

We may finish our list of hunting songs with one sung until very recently at Devon hunting dinners, "The Hunting of Arscott of Tetcott." A single stanza will show its quality:

"Hark, Vulcan!" said Arscott, "The best of good hounds!
Heigh Venus!" he shouted, "How nimbly she bounds!

¹ E. F. Rimbault, *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads, gathered from Ancient Musick Books, MS and Printed*, London, 1851, p. 112.

² II, 189, 269.

And nothing re-echoes so sweet in the valley,
 As the music of Rattler, of Fill-pot, and Rally."
 Sing fol-de-rol, lol-de-rol, la-de, heigh-ho!
 Sing fol-de-rol, lol-de-rol, la-de, heigh-ho!

All these songs we have quoted but follow the model established by such early hunting songs as our two from the Oxford MS.

THE HUNTING OF THE HARE. (1st Song.)

MS Rawl. Poet. 246, f. 10-10 b.

When cold winter's withered browe,
 Waxt pale and wanne with sorrow,
 Had orewatcht the silent night
 And coming was ye morrow,
 I heard a youth with bugle cleare,
 A jubel and a hollow,
 Cry "Come away, 'tis almost day,
 Forsake your beds and follow."

Then with a sort well arm'd for ye sport,
 Upon their proud steeds mounted,
 Such as Venus' boy bestrode
 When he ye wild boare hunted.
 And a pack of merry, merry houndes,
 Whom nature had befreinded,
 Did fright poore Watt, new stolne to squatt,
 His first sleepe scarcely ended.

Now to ye woods, to ye rocks, to ye vales,
 Now to his wonted cunning;
 With heads and doublings Watt ym enfore'd,
 For to forsake their running.
 His dabbled buskins still betray
 His tricks, his art in flying.
 Hee heares his knell ring passing well,
 And yett not sick but dying.

Dabbled, straying ore ye feildes,
 His legges begin to faile him.
 Then he againe to his wonted wiles
 Before his courage quaile him.
 And then ye highway beates and among the flocks
 of sheepe

¹ S. Baring Gould, *Songs of the West, New and Revised Edition*, London, n.d., p. 5.
 On p. 167 is the modern version of the Roxburghe Ballad.

Yett still his legges betray him;
And to his foes where ere he goes
His nimble toes bewray him.

Over ye vales, ye hills, and ye dales,
And ouer ye craggy mountaines,
Through ye woodes and shady groues
Enricht with shady fountaines;
Where pleasant springs with murmur sweet,
And pretty birds with wonder,
Doe carroll their notes to their well tun'd throates,
That fill ye ayre with thunder.

Eccho shrill from ye wood to ye hill,
Sylvanus and ye Satyres,
The Elkins and ye Fayries awake,
The sea-nymphs from ye wateres.
They listen to their merry, merry straines,
Melodiously delighted,
Counting ye day for a longer stay
That they be not benighted.

Now silly Watt had quite forgott
His staines, his jumps, his doubles.
The huntsman's hoope doth make him droope,
And all his senses troubles.
And then poore Watt he steales againe to squatt,
Thinking thus to deceive them,
But ye next veiw, he bids the world adeiw;
They streight of life bereave him.

THE HUNTING OF YE HARE. (2d Song.)

MS Rawl. Poet. 246, ff. 106-116.

Cleare is the ayre and ye morning fayre,
Fellow huntsmen, come wind the horne.
Sweet is ye earth and fresh is ye breath
That doth melt ye rime from ye thorne.
The Heavens wax bright with Apollo's light,
Newly come from ye Ocean Queene,
When in a Champian plaine may be found a braue game,
Fitt by a Prince to bee seene.

Eighteene couple of brave houndes,
As ever ran hare on ye groundes,

With a troupe yt swiftly follow,
And footmen light are gone,
When Watt is start anon,
With ye noyse, with ye noyse, with ye noyse, with ye
noyse,
With ye noyse, with ye noyse, with ye noyse of a Hunts-
man's hollow.

Then Corydon was frightened,
His lambs were so parted,
To heare ye route, ye hollow and ye shoute,
When Watt before them started.
With too, too, too, too, boyes, now boyes, there boyes,
And then they hollowed loudly.
But the earth ne're bare so braue a hare,
That ran so strong and prowldy.

Swift like ye Roe she fairely hunts,
Ore feilds, ore downes, ore dales,
Ore meadows, pastures, and ore hills,
Ore mountaines and ore vales.
And so unto ye hills she wyndes,
The vales, ye furs, ye plaines,
And runs about about six miles,
Ere she backt on ye staines.

Then might you see prowld Strawberry
Come foaming her to behold,
And Piggaling with courage stout,
Twas pitty ere she was old.
Reueng, Redrose, and Herring fleete,
With all ye noble crew,
They top ye hounds with a gallant grace,
Whilst Watt ran in their view.

Twyvy, Twyvy, twinke, hark how ye houndes, how
ye houndes, how ye houndes,
And the huntsmen shrill do hollow.
Whilst Watt with nimble feet trips ore ye downes, ore
ye downes, ore ye downes,
And all in order follow.
But she at last did shew ym a trick
Which made ym all at a fault there to stick,
Come away, come away, come away and doe not stay.

So many men, so many mindes.
 So many houndes, so many kindes.
 For some lay sticking at the head,
 And some swore it was forward fled.
 But one amongst ym all in judgment small
 Did sweare yt ye hare he knew was dead.
 A shepheard crost ye feilds with a curre at his heeles,
 And sweares he knowes yt her he killes.

But Juno then came back agen, a compasse for to goe-a,
 To try if she could find it out in ye landes yt were below-a.
 And as she try'de, she there it cryde with note full merry
 and sweet-a
 Which made ym all on her to call whilst Watt away did
 creep-a.

See, see my boyes where she goes, how she turnes over;
 Juno and Jupiter, Tinker and Trover,
 Seewell and Merryboy, Captaine and Cryer,
 Jewell and Clarabell, Fayremaid and Flyer,
 Beauty and Harpalus, Damsell and Trowler,
 Bearer and Forrister, Bowman and Bowler,
 Gunner and Gundamor, Jowler and Jumper,
 Tarquin and Tamerlane, Thunder and Thumper,
 Daynty and Jollyboy, Countesse and Ringer,
 Courtyer and Bonnylasse, Gypsey and Singer.

Over ye mountaynes and through ye wilde,
 Over ye fountaynes and thorough ye feild,
 Through ye woodes yt are highest yt Sylvan obey,
 Ore ye landes yt are ye dryest they will find out ye way.

Poore Pusse grew faint and ran full high;
 A little ease for charity.

Stoppe ye houndes, stay ye dogs, giue her more breath,
 Wee will see all her trickes before her death.

But Pusse grew faint and could no longer runne;
 Her limbs were tyred, her heart it was cleane done,
 That falling downe, she dying seem'd to say,
 "Those whom I trust do now my trust betray."
 Dead, Dead, Dead, ah dead.

EDWARD BLISS REED

JONSON'S *EPICOENE* AND LADY ARABELLA STUART

On February 18, 1610, Contarini and Correr, Venetian representatives in England, wrote as follows¹ to the Doge and Senate:

Lady Arabella [Stuart] is seldom seen outside her rooms and lives in greater dejection than ever. She complains that in a certain comedy the playwright introduced an allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia. The play was suppressed. Her Excellency is very ill pleased and shows a determination in this coming Parliament to secure the punishment of certain persons, we don't know who.

In the following pages I shall try to show that the offensive play referred to in the passage just quoted was Ben Jonson's *Epicoene*, or *Silent Woman*.²

At the beginning of the discussion it should be noted that we have indisputable evidence that Jonson's play did meet with disfavor. Beaumont's lines on the production seem to imply that certain individuals had detected satire or burlesque in the drama.³ Jonson himself wrote "another" prologue,⁴ occasioned, we are informed, by "some persons impertinent exception"; he likewise informed Drummond in the process of their conversation⁵ that when *Epicoene* was "first acted, ther was found verses after on the stage against him, concluding that that play was well named the Silent Woman, ther never was one man to say *Plaudite* to it." And finally, an interesting passage in the dedication to Sir Francis Stuart prefixed to the 1616 folio edition of the play makes it certain that Jonson had suffered "by an un-certaine accusation" in connection with the production.

There is no doubt, then, that the drama caused Jonson trouble. Fleay⁶ and others think that *Epicoene* met with disfavor because

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, p. 427.

² Smith in his admirable edition of Wotton (I, 414, note 2) remarked incidentally that Jonson's play, "acted in 1609," may have been the play to which Lady Arabella objected. Smith's remark was the "suggestion" for the present paper.

³ Gifford-Cunningham ed. of Jonson, I, cv.

⁴ Henry's ed. of *Epicoene*, p. 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

⁶ *Biog. Chron.*, I, 374.

of the personal satire contained in it, Truewit appearing to be Jonson himself and Sir John Daw representing Sir John Harington. These identifications may be possible;¹ but probably the most objectionable feature of the play was, as we shall see, the passage resented by Lady Arabella Stuart.

Before quoting this offensive passage in *Epicoene*, it should also be noted that the play was presented at a time which corresponds exactly to the date of the objectionable performance mentioned by Contarini and Correr. The title-page of the 1616 edition states that the drama was "Acted in the yeere 1609 by the Children of her Maiesties Revells"; and Fleay,² Miss Henry,³ and Murray⁴ are agreed that here Jonson is dating his production by the old style; hence *Epicoene* was presented, they affirm, between January 4, 1609-10, when the reconstructed Children of the Queen's Revels began to occupy the Whitefriars Theatre, and the following March 25. Thorndike, to be sure, has attempted to show⁵ that Jonson "invariably" used the new style and not the old in the folio edition of his works, and that "in 1609" on the title-page of *Epicoene* therefore means the period January 1, 1609, to January 1, 1610; but Murray has satisfactorily showed that such a conclusion is not warranted by the evidence.⁶

Granting, then, that the play was first presented between January 4, 1610, and February 18 of the same year, the date of the letter quoted above, the question arises whether the play contains in its present form (Jonson insists that he has not changed a syllable from "the simplicity of the first copy") a passage that might well have

¹ Dryden in his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (ed. Ker, p. 84) says of Morose: "Besides this, I am assured from divers persons, that Ben Johnson was actually acquainted with such a man, one altogether as ridiculous as he is here represented." I do not find that anyone has suggested this original of Morose as a complainant against Jonson's drama.

² *Biog. Chron.*, I, 374.

³ Ed. of *Epicoene*, p. xxii.

⁴ *Eng. Dram. Companies*, I, 153-54.

⁵ *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, pp. 16-17.

⁶ *Eng. Dram. Cos.*, I, 358, note. E. K. Chambers (*Mod. Lang. Review*, IV, 164) is inclined to accept Thorndike's dating of *Epicoene*, but he is troubled by the fact that the Children of Her Majesty's Revels could not well have acted *Epicoene* "in 1609." He remarks: "On the other hand, if the name 'Children of her Majesty's Revels' was really first revived by Rossiter, Jonson must have forgotten the fact." It is not so likely that Jonson forgot as it is that Thorndike erred.

offended Lady Arabella at this particular time. I believe that it does. In V, i, occurs a passage that has caused editors trouble.¹

Mavis. Gentlemen, have any of you a pen-and-inke? I would faine write out a riddle in Italian, for Sir Dauphine to translate.

Clerimont. Not I, in troth, lady; I am no scrivener.

Daw. I can furnish you, I thinke, lady.

[*Exeunt Daw and Mavis.*]

Clerimont. He has it in the haft of a knife, I beleeve.

La-Foole. No, he has his boxe of instruments.

Clerimont. Like a surgeon!

La-Foole. For the mathematiques: his squire, his compasses, his brasse pens, and black-lead, to draw maps of every place and person where he comes.

Clerimont. How, maps of persons!

La-Foole. Yes, sir, of Nomentack, when he was here, and of the Prince of Moldavia, and of his mistris, Mistris Epicoene.

[*Re-enter Daw.*]

Clerimont. Away! he has not found out her latitude, I hope.

La-Foole. You are a pleasant gentleman, sir.

Now it will be noted that the last idea of La-Foole's speech—"and of the Prince of Moldavia, and of his mistris, Mistris Epicoene"—is rather peculiarly expressed, that the expression "his mistris" is associated with "the Prince of Moldavia" until the words "Mistris Epicoene" give a different turn to the meaning. Let us suppose that about the middle of February, 1610, some actor speaking the lines should have paused just before uttering the words "Mistris Epicoene" or should have omitted them altogether. Are there any reasons for thinking that the audience would have immediately seen an allusion to Lady Arabella as the "mistris" of the Prince of Moldavia and that the lady herself, when informed of the trick, would have resented bitterly this "allusion to her person and the part played by the Prince of Moldavia"?

Now the Prince of Moldavia referred to by Jonson and by the Venetian representatives was Stephen Bogdan, pretender to the Moldavian throne, who visited England in October, 1607,² and who

¹ Cunningham (ed. of Jonson, III, 453) can give no account of the Prince of Moldavia; Miss Henry (p. 258) is unable to discover anything regarding this prince; the latest editor of *Epicoene* (Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, II, 225) prints the line without a note.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, p. 49.

was one of the numerous suitors for the hand of the Lady Arabella. Somewhat later he brazenly took up his quarters at Wotton's Venetian residence, and, although married to a Venetian lady, gave out that he was engaged to Arabella Stuart, cousin of the king of England.¹ Still later he went to Constantinople; and on January 28, 1610—at the approximate date, it should be noted, when *Epicoene* was acted—Correr wrote from London that Lady Arabella's troubles are caused by a consignment of money which her Excellency made at Constantinople for a Moldavian Prince, and by Douglas' intention to go to the Port with instructions on the matter. The Moldavian was many months ago at the English Court, and, as I hear, with the King's consent negotiated about marriage with the Lady; the conclusion thereof to depend on his making good his claim to his State.²

At about the same time, I presume, Boderie, the French ambassador in England, "distinctly stated that Arbella wished to marry the Prince of Moldavia," and, continues Hardy in his *Arbella Stuart*,³ the Frenchman, after speaking of the lady's arrest and examination before the Council, "did not fail to deduce scandalous suggestions from these details."

These passages give some idea of the gossip which about the time of the performance of *Epicoene* was associating Lady Arabella and Moldavia.

And there are special reasons why gossip was concerned with the king's cousin during February, 1610, and why the lady herself should have especially resented being alluded to as the "mistress" of Stephen Bogdan. In the preceding December she had been arrested, as indicated in the letters above, and many persons in England concluded that amorous matters had led to her disgrace. Correr, for example, wrote on January 8, 1610, that she and Sir George Douglas had been placed under arrest in consequence of the king's suspicion that they were to elope across the seas.⁴ We have already seen that Boderie slanderously associated the names of Lady Arabella and Bogdan.

¹ Smith's ed. of Wotton, I, 414; cf. also *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, p. xvii, where Hinds gives certain facts of Bogdan's career, referring the reader to Jorga's *Prezententi Domnesci* for further information.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, p. 414.

³ *Arbella Stuart, A Biography*, pp. 229-30. The letter cited by Hardy does not seem to be in the 1750 ed. of Boderie's *Ambassades*.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, p. 405.

Other contemporary documents indicate further slander of the lady. On February 13, 1610, Chamberlain¹ wrote:

The Lady Arabella's business, whatsoever it is, is ended, and she restored to her former state and grace. The King gave her a cupboard of plate better than £200 for a New Year's gift, and a thousand marks to pay her debts, besides some yearly addition to her income. Want being thought the chief cause of her discontentment, though she be not altogether free from the suspicion of being collapsed.

As Hardy² and Mrs. Murray Smith³ both note, the word "collapsed" is ambiguous, and may well be a reference to the common court gossip of the time associating Lady Arabella with Bogdan. Two days later (February 15) Beaulieu,⁴ secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes, wrote as follows:

The Lady Arabella, who (as you know) was not long ago censured for having without the King's Privy entertained a Motion of Marriage, was again within these few Days deprehended in the like Treaty with my Lord of Beauchamp's Second Sonne, and both were called and examined yesterday at the Court about it. What the matter will prove I know not; but these affectations of Marriage in her, do give some advantage to the world of impairing the Reputation of her constant and virtuous Disposition.

It should be noted here that, during Lady Arabella's first trial "for having without the King's Privy entertained a Motion of Marriage," King James and his courtiers believed that she was trying to marry the Prince of Moldavia; and we have seen how gossip interpreted her actions. As a matter of fact, however, Lady Arabella was at that very time much in love with William Seymour, whom she afterward married; hence taking advantage of James's ignorance as to the true state of affairs and his apparent objection to Moldavia, she had by February 13 won his confidence by promising solemnly never to marry a foreigner. In turn he gave her his permission to marry any man she pleased so long as he was a "loyal subject of the realm."⁵ Her choice of William Seymour and her subsequent troubles resulting therefrom need not concern us here.

¹ Mrs. Murray Smith, *Life of Arabella Stuart*, I, 238-39.

² *Arabella Stuart*, p. 230.

³ *Life of Arabella Stuart*, I, 239.

⁴ Winwood, *Memorials*, III, 119.

⁵ Hardy, p. 230.

From what has preceded, it is clear, I think, why an actor would have been tempted to pronounce Jonson's lines as I have suggested above or to omit the "Mistris Epicoene" at the end of La-Foole's speech; and it is clear, too, why an apparent allusion to Lady Arabella as the "mistris" of Moldavia would have been especially out of place about the middle of February, 1610, a time when such an allusion would have been especially objectionable alike to the lady and her cousin the king. And under the circumstances we can rest assured that no time was lost in suppressing Jonson's play as soon as an informer or an enemy of the poet carried to Lady Arabella an account of the "allusion" to herself and the Prince of Moldavia. It is possible, too, that the offense given by the play explains why Daniel, and not Jonson, wrote the elaborate masque (i.e. *Tethys Festival*) of the following June to celebrate the creation of Henry as Prince of Wales, a masque in which the Lady Arabella, then restored to favor, took a leading part.¹

And finally, the explanation offered above has an advantage in that it gives special significance to the fact that Jonson's play, which offended Lady Arabella, was, soon after her death on September 25, 1615, dedicated to her kinsman Sir Francis Stuart.² May we not consider it a tribute to Jonson's manhood that, soon after the pathetic death of the lady whom his drama had offended, he should, in the following terms, have dedicated that drama to her kinsman:

There is not a line or syllable in it changed from the simplicity of the first copy. And, when you shall consider, through the certaine hatred of some, how much a mans innocency may bee indanger'd by an *un-certaine accusation*; you will, I doubt not, so beginne to hate the iniquitie of such natures, as I shall love the contumely done me, whose end was so honorable as to be wip'd off by your sentence.

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¹ Mrs. Murray Smith, *Life of Arabella Stuart*, I, 252-53.

² Lady Arabella and Sir Francis were half second cousins. For facts in the life of the latter, see Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, II, 239-40; Wood's account quoted by Miss Henry, p. 124; Nichols, *Prog. of King James*, II, 343.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF "PIERS THE PLOWMAN"

A REPLY TO R. W. CHAMBERS

PREFATORY NOTE

Professor Manly's views regarding the multiplicity of authorship of the "Piers Plowman" poems have now been before the scholarly world for eleven years, and have occasioned several discussions.¹ Some of the arguments and comments, however, have

¹ The literature of the "controversy" consists of the following articles:

"The Autobiographical Elements in Piers the Plowman," A. E. Jack, *Journal of Germanic Philology*, III, 393-414.

"The Lost Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman,'" J. M. Manly, *Mod. Philology*, III, 359-66; "Piers the Plowman and Its Sequence," Manly, *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.*, II, chap. i; "The Misplaced Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman,'" Henry Bradley, *The Athenaeum*, April 21, 1906, p. 481 (the three articles, with "Forewords" by Dr. Furnivall, reprinted by the E.E.T.S., Original Series, 135 B, 1908).

"Was 'Langland' the Author of the C-Text of 'The Vision of Piers Plowman'?"

T. D. Hall, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 1-13.

"The Lost Leaf of 'Piers the Plowman,'" C. F. Brown, *New York Nation*, March 25, 1909, p. 298; Henry Bradley, *ibid.*, April 29, 1909, p. 436; T. A. Knott, *ibid.*, May 13, 1909, p. 482; "The Misplaced Lines, *Piers Plowman*," T. D. Hall, *Mod. Philology*, VII, 327-28.

"*Piers Plowman*, the Work of One or of Five," J. J. Jusserand, *Mod. Philology*, VI, 271-329; "The Authorship of *Piers Plowman*," J. M. Manly, *ibid.*, VII, 83-144; "*Piers Plowman*, the Work of One or of Five—A Reply," J. J. Jusserand, *ibid.*, VII, 289-326; "The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman,'" R. W. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 1-32; "The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman,'" Henry Bradley, *ibid.*, V, 202-7 (all five reprinted as "The Piers Plowman Controversy," E.E.T.S., Original Series, 139 B, C, D, E, F).

"The Original Form of the A-Text of 'Piers Plowman,'" R. W. Chambers, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VI, 302-23.

"The Authorship of Piers Plowman," Otto Mensendieck, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, IX, 404-20.

"The Alliteration of 'Piers Plowman,'" Mary Deakin, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 478-83.

"'Piers Plowman,' One or Five," G. G. Coulton, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII, 102-4, 372-73.

"Studies in *Piers the Plowman*," Samuel Moore, *Mod. Philology*, XI, 177-93; XII, 19-50.

"The Authorship of *Piers the Plowman*," J. M. Manly, *Mod. Philology*, XIV, 315-16.

"The Name of the Author of 'Piers Plowman,'" G. C. Macaulay, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 195.

"Who Was John But?" H. Bradley, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VIII, 88-89.

"John But, Messenger and Maker," Edith Rickert, *Mod. Philology*, XI, 107-16.

"The Text of 'Piers Plowman,'" R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, IV, 357-89.

"An Essay toward the Critical Text of the A-Version of 'Piers the Plowman,'"

T. A. Knott, *Mod. Philology*, XII, 389-421.

"The Text of 'Piers Plowman': Critical Methods," R. W. Chambers and J. H. G. Grattan, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XI, 257-75.

"Zur Verfasserschaft und Entstehungsgeschichte von 'Piers the Plowman,'" G. Görnemann, *Anglistische Forschungen*, XLVIII.

disclosed a misunderstanding of the origin of, and the basis for, the opinion of Professor Manly, and I may therefore be pardoned for a brief statement in review.

During a vacation Mr. Manly read the three versions of the poem—A, B, and C—separately and in order, a sort of examination to which they seem not often to have been subjected. The “composite” impressions of the three versions held by most modern critics seem to have been based on a reading of the B- or of the C-text alone, with an occasional examination of a parallel passage in one of the other versions. Indeed, since the appearance of Skeat’s editions, few persons seem to have read through A, B, and C separately with the object of estimating the merit of each version as a separate literary work.

Through a fortunate accident Mr. Manly was thus the first¹ to recognize the excellence of structure and the literary power of the A-text, which had, since its publication in 1867, been rather cursorily dismissed by literary historians as a mere preliminary sketch of the more voluminous and comprehensive B- and C-texts. The tendency had been to regard C as a revision of B by a man who was past the height of his power, while B was regarded as the work of a middle-aged writer of great ability. Attention consequently had been focused on the B-text. Whatever thorough examination of A and of C had been made had been chiefly for the purpose of discovering so-called autobiographical material, which, in the absence of external testimony concerning the life of the author, was sought for in the poems.

Mr. Manly’s reading led him to the conclusion that *the three poems exhibited such remarkable differences in (1) technique (structural and organizing capacity), (2) interests, (3) artistic ability, (4) mental qualities, (5) psychological characteristics, and (6) versification*, that they could scarcely have been the work of one man; and a more careful examination of lesser differences—some of these studies being made by members of his classes—resulted in the conviction that the

¹ Although the belief that A, B, and C were by different men was arrived at independently by Mr. Manly, and was by him first put forth, substantiated with definite evidence, yet it is by no means without interest to observe that B and C had been declared to be by different men, by two scholars to whom B and C were the only versions known: Thomas Wright and George P. Marsh. See *Mod. Philology*, XI, 186, and XIV, 315-16.

poems were by at least four, and perhaps by five, different authors. These results have thus far only been sketched, or at best but partly presented, in Mr. Manly's brief contributions. He has felt it desirable to await the completion of the critical texts of the three versions before publishing the results of the investigations in full. The text of A has now been completed, and it is hoped that no long time will elapse before the texts will be settled for the other versions as well. When this work shall have been finished, scholars will be in a position to judge fairly the comparative merits and qualities of the three texts and of their various parts, and the publication of complete and exhaustive studies may safely follow.

Quite contrary to the erroneous opinion several times expressed by students, Mr. Manly's views did *not* result from his discovery of the break in sense between lines 235 and 236 of passus 5. Nor did they result from a mere comparison of divergent readings of the three texts. That his views do not depend on such scanty evidence as is summarized by Mr. R. W. Chambers in *Modern Language Review*, V, p. 32, can be quickly determined by anyone who will read Mr. Manly's three articles, especially *Modern Philology*, III, p. 360, lines 5-19, and the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, p. 4, first paragraph, pp. 18, 23-24, 28-29, 30-34, etc. (American edition, p. 4, middle paragraph, pp. 26-28, 33, 34-39).

I. INTRODUCTION

Mr. R. W. Chambers, in his paper entitled "The Authorship of 'Piers Plowman,'" ¹ has attacked several of the arguments advanced by Mr. Manly. The discussion of those points covered by Mr. Chambers depends little if at all upon the finality of any but the A-text, and his arguments may therefore be examined and answered now.

Several of the contentions urged by Mr. Chambers had already been utilized by Mr. Jusserand in his first contribution to the controversy, and had been shown by Mr. Manly to be insufficient to meet the latter's arguments. As Mr. Chambers adds little or nothing to these already answered points (those contained in sections V and VIII of his paper), I shall in these observations devote very little

¹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, V, 1-32.

attention to them, but shall confine myself almost entirely to the examination of those of his views which are new or different from those of Mr. Jusserand.

It will be remembered that Mr. Manly has called attention to two striking imperfections in the A-text which were adopted into the B-text: one in *passus* 5. 235-36 ff. (B 5. 462-63 ff.),¹ where the figure of Sloth, after confessing and vowing amendment, inexplicably promises to make restitution of ill-gotten gains; the other in 7. 71-74, where, into the midst of Piers' speech about preparations for undertaking the pilgrimage, are interpolated the four lines naming the wife, daughter, and son of Piers. If these are imperfections—and practically no one except Mr. Chambers has denied that they are—B's retention of them is a good presumptive reason (among hosts of other reasons), Mr. Manly believes, for regarding the author of B and the author of A as separate persons.

Even so stout a believer in the unity of authorship as Mr. Jusserand had admitted the textual imperfections at these two points, attempting only to show that the author might have inadvertently failed to correct them in the process of revision. Mr. Chambers, on the other hand, denies flatly that there is any textual imperfection at either one of these two points. Sloth, he maintains, was a sin which resulted in the accumulation of wicked winnings. Furthermore, the most pronounced characteristic of Robert the Robber, he claims, is slothfulness, so that a robber is a typical exemplification of Sloth. Finally, he claims, the lines containing the names of Piers' wife and children do not interrupt the passage in which they occur, but fit quite appositely into the sense.

One may be pardoned for examining with interest and curiosity the position which Mr. Chambers proposes to maintain. One may be pardoned, perhaps, for a certain lively skepticism until proof is forthcoming that mediaeval writers on the seven deadly sins, when treating Sloth, attributed to Sloth the increase of his property through the exercise of his besetting sin, and until proof is forthcoming that one of the penalties exacted of the repentant slothful man was the restitution of his "wicked winnings." Proof must

¹ The line-numbers in this article are those of Skeat, E.E.T.S. The quotations are from my critical text, which uses MS Trin. Coll. Camb., R. 3. 14, as a basis.

be adduced that robbers were regarded, not as robbers, but pre-eminently as examples of slothfulness; and that robbery was regarded as the result, not of avarice, but of slothfulness; furthermore, that our particular Robert the Robber is not pictured by the author as a robber, but as an idler. Finally, Mr. Chambers must show convincingly that the names of Piers' family do not interrupt the passage in which they occur, but fit smoothly into the sense and the construction of the lines preceding and following.

Such proof, in spite of a great deal of plausible pleading, speculation, and misinterpretation and mutilation of evidence, has not, I believe, been produced by Mr. Chambers. He has not cited one authority which attributes "wicked winnings" to Sloth. He has not cited one authority which classifies robbery under Sloth. He cannot show that Robert the Robber is drawn by our author as predominantly slothful, rather than as predominantly a robber. Finally, his attempt to show that the "name" passage does not interrupt the context in which it occurs depends on a misinterpretation of his evidence.

In his introductory section, Mr. Chambers, as the basis of his contentions, has offered incomplete, mutilated, and misrepresentative statements of Mr. Manly's published views. He has tacitly substituted Dr. Bradley's views for those of Mr. Manly, or has confused the views of the two, making no distinction as to highly important differences of opinion, but attributing the views of either to the other at random, whenever such substitution or confusion seems to make refutation easier.

Since Mr. Chambers has given an imperfect and confused "composite" of the views of Mr. Manly and of Dr. Bradley (mostly those of the latter), with regard to the restitution-Robber passage, I may perhaps be pardoned for briefly putting again the *whole* case with regard to this interesting problem. I shall therefore give (1) the facts, (2) Mr. Manly's method of accounting for the facts, (3) Dr. Bradley's method, and (4) Mr. Chambers' version of the theory attributed by him to Mr. Manly, with which Mr. Chambers proceeds to take issue.

1. *The facts.*—First, the A-text: In the fifth passus, Conscience, preaching to the field full of folk, and especially to the seven deadly

sins, causes all to repent. Out of the 263 lines in the passus, about 200 are devoted to the deadly sins, in the following order: Pride, Lechery, Envy, Covetousness, Gluttony, Sloth. It will be observed that only six of the customary seven capital sins are introduced. Wrath is omitted, and the account of Envy (No. 3) is imperfect at the end. The last eleven lines of Sloth—the sixth and last of the sins described—are devoted to his vow. He promises that on Sundays he will go to mass, matins, and evensong (five lines), that he will repay all that he has wickedly won (four lines), and that with what he has left over he will go on a pilgrimage to Truth (two lines). An account of the repentance and confession of Robert the Robber follows.

The incompleteness of Envy indicates that some of the text has been lost at that point. The improbability that Sloth should vow restitution of wicked winnings indicates that between the genuine utterances of Sloth and the "restitution" lines, some lines have been lost. Between the two breaks there are 122 lines (in the critical text).

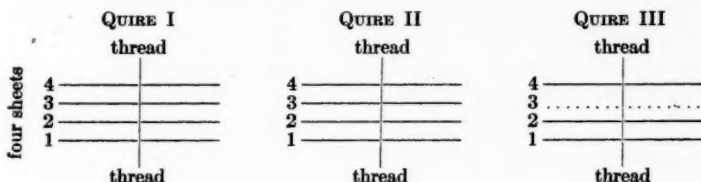
Second, the B-text: In the B-text the incompleteness of Envy has been noticed and remedied by the addition of five lines. An account of Wrath has been inserted after Envy, but the conception is absolutely different from that of the sins in the A-text.¹ The inappropriateness of Sloth's apparent vow of restitution has been noted, and an attempt has been made to motivate it by the preliminary insertion of seven lines (B 5. 429-35) in which Sloth confesses that he refuses to pay his debts and his servant's wages.

2. *Mr. Manly's theory*.—Mr. Manly supposes that the first break in the text of the A-version is caused by the loss, not only of

¹ Mr. Chambers is quite wrong in holding that B's account of Wrath is similar to A's accounts of the other six sins. All of A's sins are represented as men or women who themselves commit the sins. Pride is a proud woman; Lecher is a lecherous man; Glutton is a vast eater and a drunkard, etc. B's Wrath, on the contrary, is not a man himself addicted to wrath. He never himself indulges in the sin he is supposed to represent. On the contrary, his sole object is to stir up angry contention among others. When six sins are characterized as men and women who have indulged in the sins they represent, and the seventh sin, Wrath, is characterized as not indulging in wrath, but as instigating wrath in others, it is difficult to understand how the difference in conception and presentation can escape observation. The very point of the presence of the sins has been missed by B. Conscience preaches to the field full of folk in order to cause them to repent. A proud woman repents; a lecherous man repents; a gluttonous man repents; so also a covetous and a slothful man. In the B-text, a man who himself is never angry repents of inciting anger among others.

the end of Envy, but also of the whole of Wrath. The second break, he believes, is caused by the loss of lines belonging to Sloth, and a passage ultimately leading up to the vow of restitution. The 122 extant lines intervening between the two breaks he thinks filled the inmost fold or sheet (two folios) of a quire. From this quire of four sheets (eight folios) the next to the inmost sheet, containing folios 3 and 6, was lost, thus causing the two breaks in the text.¹ This hypothesis, it will be seen, has the advantage of accounting for all the defects (two breaks and the absence of Wrath) on a single hypothesis.

The accompanying diagram may aid in visualizing the situation.



1 = outside fold or sheet of each quire.

2 = second " " " " " "

3 = third " " " " " "

4 = inside " " " " " "

1,037 lines of the poem fill quires I, II, and III to the end of folio 2b, at 29 lines to the page. (Counting titles and Latin lines, this is the number in the critical text. See *New York Nation*, May 13, 1909, p. 483.)

122 lines fill III, 4, at 30½ lines to the page.

Quire III, fold 3, is missing according to the Manly hypothesis, causing the two breaks.

3. *Dr. Bradley's theory.*—Dr. Bradley of course accepts the facts as given above. Formerly he accepted Mr. Manly's theory of one lost folio to account for the incompleteness of Envy and the absence of Wrath, though later he suggested the possibility that this gap may have been caused by the "hipping-over" of a leaf. Dr. Bradley, however, proposes to account for the present position of the restitution lines and the Robert the Robber passage on the supposition that a loose leaf in the author's MS, containing these twenty-four

¹ The fact that there are just enough lines preceding the first break to fill exactly the number of pages required to bring us to the end of the second folio of the third quire of the imperfect archetype is supporting evidence. See my letter, *New York Nation*, May 13, 1909, and Mr. Manly's "Terminal Note," *Mod. Philology*, VII, 140-44.

lines, was accidentally misplaced, and consequently copied in the wrong connection. The correct position of the restitution-Robert passage he believes to be at the end of the confession of Covetousness.

4. *Mr. Chambers' version of a "Manly-Bradley" theory.*—Mr. Chambers' statement of the problem which he intends to discuss is as follows:

The defects found in the present A-text, and accepted by the B-reviser, are three:

(1) The confession of Robert the Robber comes at the end of the seven deadly sins, following Sloth, although, according to the mediaeval classification, Robbery is a branch of Covetousness. (Dr. Bradley.)

(2) The concluding lines of the confession of Sloth are, it is claimed, more appropriate to Covetousness, and should really be placed under that sin. (Dr. Bradley's modification of Prof. Manly's view.)

(3) Certain lines mentioning Piers' wife and children seem incoherent, and have, it is claimed, been misplaced. (Prof. Manly.)

One may quite legitimately ask what has become of Mr. Manly's view in (1) and (2).

II. WHAT IS SLOTH?

To appreciate the possibility or impossibility of attributing the restitution of wicked winnings to Sloth, and of classifying Robert the Robber as a figure exemplifying Sloth, the reader ought first to get clearly in mind what Sloth was understood to be in the fourteenth century. Mr. Chambers has shown such a misunderstanding on this point that our inspection of his argument must be preceded by full and exact information from documents contemporary with our poems.

Mr. Chambers believes that Sloth is Idleness:

"We may imagine our Robert as an *idle* apprentice, who from *idleness* has fallen into wanhope" (p. 5).

"In the *Ancren Riwe* it is made clear that Sloth does not exclude evil works, but that, on the contrary, *the idle* are the more prompt to do the Devil's bidding" (p. 6).

"Now Accidie being *the neglect of honest industry*" (p. 7).

This is not the mediaeval conception of Sloth. On the contrary, Sloth was regarded and defined as a spiritual deficiency, "a strong indisposition for spiritual good, whereby a man has no delight in

God or in his praises; out of it proceed ignorance, timidity, despair and the like." At least so Archbishop Peckham's *Constitutions* defined it, in 1281, and inasmuch as the *Constitutions* were ordered promulgated throughout England, they were probably influential in forming the thought of the fourteenth century on the subject.¹

Archbishop Thoresby's *Instruction or Catechism for the People*, published in 1357, and based largely on Peckham, shows the conception contemporary with our poem:

The sext dedely syn is slauthe or slawnes,
That is ane hertly anger or anoye til us
Of any gastely gode that we sal do.
And of this syn comes sum sere speces;
Ane is latsumnesse or lite to draw opon lenthe
Any gode dede that we sal do,
That mai turne us til help or hele of our saules.
Anothir is a dulnesse or heuynesse of hert
That lettes us for to luf our lord god almighten,
Or any likyng to haue in his seruice.
The third is yde[l]ship that ouer mikel is haunted,
That makes men lathe to begyn any godededis,
And lightly dos us to leue when ought is begunnen,
And thar ar we er kyndely borne for to swink
Als the foughel is kindly born for to fleghe,

Job. V^{to}. ca^o.

It haldes us euermare in ese ogaynes our kynd,
For idelnesse is enmy to cristen man saule
Stepmodir and stameryng ogayne gode thewes,
And witter wissyng and wai till alkyns vices.²

Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Invyt* says: "That fourth head of the wicked beast is disinclination. That is, disinclination and vexation to do wel. . . . This disinclination, that is, sloth, causes that one has evil beginning, and more evil amending, and worse ending."³

The other treatises substantially agree.

Sloth, or Accidia, then, is spiritual flabbiness, an exceeding disinclination to do good.

¹ "Acedia est taedium boni spiritualis, ex quo homo nec in Deo, nec in Divinis laudibus delectatur: ex qua sequuntur ignorantia, pusillanimitas, desperatio, et similia."
—*Lay Folks' Catechism*, E.E.T.S., 118 (O.S.), pp. 93-95.

² *Lay Folks' Catechism*, pp. 92-94.

³ "Det uerpe heauod of þe wyckede beste is onlosthede. Det is onlosthede and tyene to do wel . . . þis onlosthede, þet is sleupe, makeþ þet man heþ kueade aginnyng and more kueade amendinge and to wors endinge."—E.E.T.S., 23 (O.S.), p. 31.

Furthermore, in the treatises Sloth is clearly distinguished from Idleness. All authors who treat the subject systematically indicate that many branches belong to Sloth, and that Idleness is merely one of the branches; and in one or two of the briefer treatments Idleness is not even mentioned, as, for instance, in Peckham's *Constitutions*. In no case do we find Accidia defined as Idleness. Idleness is merely one of the results of Accidia.

While we are on this subject, it may be well to determine what is the relation between Sloth, Idleness, and Wanhope. Wanhope, or Despair, is not a result of Idleness. Idleness is one of the early results of Accidia. Dan Michel has it third among eighteen. Despair, on the other hand, he has eighteenth and last—the culmination of Sloth, the “poyn pet brengþ man to his ende.”

Finally, does A's conception of Sloth accord with this conception of the fourteenth century treatises? An inspection of the lines will show that it does and that the prime characteristic of the sin, as he conceives it, is not idleness, but spiritual negligence.

Literally translated, the account is:

Sloth for sorrow fell down in a swoon,
Till Vigilate the nun fetched water to his eyes,
And flung it on his face, and quickly cried to him,
And said, “Beware against Despair, who will betray thee.
'I am sorry for my sins,' say to thyself,
And beat thyself on the breast, and pray God for grace,
For no guilt here is so great that his goodness is not greater.”
Then sat Sloth up, and crossed himself quickly,
And made a vow before God against his foul sloth:
“There shall be no Sunday these seven years, unless sickness causes it,
That I shall not betake myself ere day to the dear church,
And hear mass and matins as if I were a monk.
No ale after meals shall hold me thence,
Till I have heard evensong, I promise the Rood.” [5. 222-35.]

III. IS ROBERT THE ROBBER AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF SLOTH?

In his first section Mr. Chambers, postponing the consideration of the vow of restitution (which in the poem occurs between Sloth and Robert the Robber), discusses Robert the Robber, his purpose being to show that the figure of Robert may quite properly be placed under Sloth. First he aims to show that the name “Robert” is

typically that of an idler; and secondly he maintains that the account of Robert in our poem contains indisputable evidence that it was written to exemplify the sin of idleness, and that the figure, therefore, belongs under Sloth.

In urging his first point Mr. Chambers asserts that Robert's name is conventional, and that it shows that he was a member of a class known as "roberdesmen"; he maintains further that these "roberdesmen" were identical with bidders and beggars and wasters; still further, that beggars and wasters were generally more addicted to idleness than to robbery, and that therefore Robert must be pre-eminently noted for idleness. This once presumed, Robert, according to Mr. Chambers, is an exemplification of Sloth.

1. There can of course be no question that the name "Robert" was a conventional one for robbers. And naturally the term "roberdesmen" was also loosely flung at persons who, though not professional robbers, were not averse to an occasional bit of thieving or robbery.

2. "That the two names [Wasters and 'roberdesmen'] are synonymous is clear from a Statute of Edward III, in which they are mentioned together," says Mr. Chambers. The sentence in which they are "mentioned together" is: "*Et diverses roberies, homicides et felonies ont este faitz einz ces heures par gentz qi sont appelez Roberdesmen, Wastoures et Draghlacche.*" Now is it "clear" from this that "roberdesmen" and "wastoures" are "synonymous"? Merely to ask the question is to answer it in the negative. To insist that "roberdesmen, wastoures and draghlacche" are synonymous terms, merely because they are "mentioned together," is to give equally strong reason for insisting that "roberies, homicides et felonies" are synonymous.

3. Next we are asked to accept the following reasoning: (1) Bidders and beggars are identical with "roberdesmen"; (2) bidders and beggars are said in the poem to be gluttonous, ribald, and slothful; (3) therefore "roberdesmen" are predominantly slothful; and (4) therefore Robert the Robber is exactly the sort of person who would be chosen to exemplify Sloth. Such an argument has only to be stated to exhibit its absurdity. Yet this is exactly Mr. Chambers' argument.

Moreover, let us examine the whole passage, a part of which Mr. Chambers cites in support of his argument that Robert the Robber is predominantly slothful. In the prologue, among other classes in the field full of folk, it is said that

Bidderis and beggeris faste aboute zede
Til here belyes and here bagges were bretful yerammid,
Fayteden for here foode, fouzten at þe ale,
In glotonye, God wot, go þei to bedde,
And risen vp wiþ ribaudie, þese roberdis knaues.
Slep and sleuþe sewiþ hem euere. [Prol. 40-45.]

These six lines were written, not about robbers at all, but about the bidders and beggars, fat, deceitful, quarrelsome, gluttonous, lazy, and sleepy. It is incomprehensible that this passage should be seriously urged in support of the claim that Robert the Robber is a beggar, and that therefore his predominant characteristic is *Sloth*. If it prove this, it proves just as conclusively that Robert belongs under Gluttony or Wrath or Ribaldry or Lying.

In order to connect Robert with Waster, Mr. Chambers next quotes a passage which seems to support his assertion that Waster "proposes to raid Piers' barn." The speech in the quoted passage, however, was not uttered by Waster. By the suppression of two lines Mr. Chambers has inserted into the mouth of Waster a threat which was actually uttered by "a bretoner, a braggere." The first lines are:

Panne gan Wastour arise and wolde haue yfouzte;
To Peris þe Plouzman he profride his gloue.
A bretoner, a braggere abostide hym also,
And bad hym go pisse wiþ his plouz, pilide shrewe:
Wilt þou, nilt þou, we wile haue oure wille,
Of þi flour and of þi flesh fecche whanne vs likeþ,
And make vs merye þer wiþ maugre þi chekis. [7. 140-46.]

I shall not, however, insist on the significance of this mutilation further than to point out that by the process of reasoning in which Mr. Chambers is indulging himself, the predominant characteristic of Robert might perfectly well be made out to be bragging. Here, again, of course, the proposed seizure of Piers' flour and flesh is a purely incidental matter. The attempt to prove from this mangled

passage that Robert the *Robber* is primarily a waster is as futile as the attempt to prove from the other mangled passage that Robert is primarily a beggar.

But after all, the actual account of Robert himself is the thing which will determine the question whether he was intended to exemplify Sloth. If he is represented as predominantly a victim of Sloth, then he unquestionably belongs under Sloth. If, on the contrary, we find in the account not the slightest stress on his slothfulness or idleness, and if we find that the poet has emphasized the robberies which Robert has committed, his sorrow for his robberies, his grief because he cannot make restitution of what he has stolen, and his resolution to do lifelong penance for *having been a robber*, then unquestionably Robert does *not* belong under Sloth.

Let us examine Mr. Chambers' attempt to show that Robert is not a robber, but an idler.

"It must be noted that in this passage Robert is used almost as a common noun," says Mr. Chambers (p. 4). In observing the accuracy of this assertion, we should note that the word "Robert" is used twice in this passage. In the first instance, in the very first line of the passage, it is quite clearly not used as a common noun. Mr. Chambers quotes this line on p. 5, but he omits the first half of it, which contains the name used as a proper noun. The full line is:

Robert þe robbour on reddite lokide.

Robert, claims Mr. Chambers, "has not even been an industrious robber, seeing he has amassed nothing" (p. 4). It is of course evident enough that the qualities which lead to the accumulation of a fortune are economy and thrift, and not vigorous activity as a robber. A notable circumstance about robbers in every age has been that, rob as much as they may, their extravagance has caused them to amass nothing. That Robert had stolen considerable amounts is surely to be inferred from the fact that the poet represents him in utter despair over the impossibility of making restitution.

Turning now to the eighteen lines devoted by the poet to the account of Robert, let us see whether they were written to illustrate Robert as having given way to the sin of Sloth, or to that of Robbery.

Robert þe robbour on reddite lokide,
 Ac for þere was nouȝt where with he wepte swiþe sore. [243.]
 Ac ȝet þe synful shrewe seide to hym selue,
 "Crist, þat on Caluarie vpon þe cros diȝedist,
 Do Dismas my broþer besouȝte þe of grace,
 And þou haddist mercy on þat man for Memento sake,
 Bi wil worþ vpon me, as I haue wel deseruid [248.]
 To haue helle for euere, ȝif þat hope nere; [249.]
 So rewe on þis robert, þat no red haue.
 Ne neuere wene to wynne wiþ craft þat I knowe;
 But for þi muchel mercy mytygacioun I beseche;
 Dampne me nouȝt at domisday for I dede so ille." [253.]
 Ac what befel of þis feloun I can not faire shewe.
 Wel I woot he wepte faste watire wiþ his eȝen, [255.]
 And knowelechide his gilt to Crist ȝet eft sonen, [256.]
 Þat Penitencia his pik shulde pulisshe newe, [257.]
 And lepe with hym ouer lond al his lif tyme,
 For he hadde leize be Latro, Luciferis aunte. [5. 242-59.]

Before proceeding to indicate the material in this confession which he believes renders it a "sequel to Sloth," Mr. Chambers points out that "it would have been easy to make a confession for Robbery which would show how Robbery springs from Covetousness. . . . But Robert's confession shows nothing of this. It is not quite the case, as Dr. Bradley says, that he 'bewails his crimes, and vows from henceforth to lead an honest life.' He says nothing about his crimes, beyond an admission that he has done ill, nor does he promise to lead an honest life" (p. 4).

Let us analyze the account of Robert:

a) In line 243 Robert weeps bitterly because he cannot make restitution for his crimes.

b) In lines 248-49 he admits, "I haue wel deseruid To haue helle for euere."

c) In line 253 he says, "Dampne me nouȝt at domisday for I dede so ille."

d) In lines 255-56, he "wepte faste," and "knowelechide his gilt to Crist."

e) In lines 257-59 he offers the fact that he had "lain by Latro" as his reason for desiring to do penance.

It is a bit difficult to see how Robert could have said in more than five ways that he had led a criminal life.

"Nor does he promise to lead an honest life," proceeds Mr. Chambers. Again, what does the poem say?

a) In lines 242-43 Robert certainly wishes to begin an honest life with the restitution of the proceeds of his robberies.

b) In lines 256-59 he makes a confession of his wickedness in order that *Penitence* may attend him "*al his lif tyme*." If the latter lines do not constitute a promise to lead an honest life, what could?

"On the contrary," continues Mr. Chambers, "he [Robert] points out the difficulties which will beset him should he attempt to do so [lead an honest life], and pleads guilty to thriftlessness and ignorance of any craft." Mr. Chambers thinks that in favor of this view are to be discerned two pieces of evidence, one in line 243, in which Robert weeps bitterly because he cannot make restitution, and the other in line 251, in which Robert says that he never weens to win with craft that he knows. I have already pointed out that inability to make restitution does not constitute the slightest indication of idleness in Robert's occupation of robbery. Indeed, Mr. Chambers himself admits (p. 6) that "Robert's lapses into highway robbery, or house-breaking, must have called for great, if intermittent, exertions." As for line 251, it is conceivable that if it stood by itself it might be taken as Mr. Chambers wishes to take it. But it stands in a connection, and taken in that connection, as it must be, it is impossible to see how the poet can have intended it to mean merely that Robert cannot "work for his living." If the reader will glance at the whole passage under discussion, he will see that Robert turns to the example of Dismas because *Robert cannot make restitution* to his victims. He therefore begs Christ to have the same kind of pity on Robert that He had on Dismas ("so rewe on pis Robert"), and incidentally, of course, mentions the reason why—the fact that he himself has no "red" (plan to help himself out of his very present difficulty),¹ and never expects to gain ("wene to wyne")—what? Why, of course, the means of restitution, the lack of which very thing furnishes the immediate and *avowed* motive for his appeal to Christ to have pity on him. We see, therefore, that Dr. Bradley's interpretation of this line is exactly right: "As he [Robert] knows

¹ For "red" meaning "help, plan for help," cf. *ME. Gen. and Ex.*, line 309, where Satan, thinking of tempting Adam and Eve, says: "Get ic wene I can a red/bat hem sal bringen iwel sped." Cf. also *ibid.*, line 3663. Cf. *N.E.D.*, *rede* sb. 1, 3.

no trade he cannot hope ever to earn the means of restoring what he has stolen." So much for the two passages which have been taken by Mr. Chambers to show that Robert is written to exemplify idleness. These lines prove nothing of the kind. On the contrary, both Robert himself and the poet give evidence of Robert's classification: In line 246 Robert says, "þo Dismas my broþer besouȝte þe of grace." Dismas, it is well known, was a thief. Robert calls Dismas his brother. Furthermore, the poet makes specific statement of the crime for which Robert wishes to do penance. Robert confesses to Christ in order that Penitence may accompany him all his lifetime, "For he hadde leiȝe be Latro, Luciferis aunte." I cannot feel that it is pressing these lines very hard to take them as indicating that the poet thought Robert was a robber.

Mr. Chambers next attempts to justify the "Piers Plowman" Sloth-Robber combination by an appeal to Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*. He points out that Robert consoles himself by recalling the penitent thief on the cross, and that the penitent thief is a conventional exemplum against Wanhope, which is a result of Accidia. We are offered what purports to be an outline of the "received text" of A at this point: "(1) l. 222 Introduction of Sleuthe, (2) l. 225 'War the for Wanhope,' (3) ll. 242-59 the case of Robert the Robber, a *felon*, who though he has no reed, and never hopes to earn an honest livelihood, yet (4) ll. 246-48 comforts himself by the example of the penitent thief" (p. 5).

Now to the reader who does not examine the text or the line numbers in Mr. Chambers' outline, this makes the passage under discussion look "exactly" parallel to his immediately following outline of part of Chaucer, where he deals with Wanhope and the penitent thief. But as a matter of fact, the outline of the "Piers Plowman" passage misrepresents the text in a very important respect. It omits all consideration of the sixteen lines between line 225, in which Sloth is warned against Wanhope, and line 242, in which Robert is introduced.

In these sixteen intervening lines Sloth is advised by Vigilante, the veil, to say that he is sorry for his sins, to beat himself on the breast, and to pray God for grace, because no guilt is so great that God's goodness is not more; then Sloth sits up, crosses himself,

vows that in spite of his sloth he will for seven years go to church every Sunday before day, and will never allow lingering over the ale to keep him from evensong. Then come six lines in which someone vows restitution of all that he has wickedly won, to be followed by a search for Truth with the residue of his possessions.

At last (line 242) Robert is introduced. In the actual text, then, Robert is *not* introduced as a typical idler under Accidia to constitute an antidote against Wanhope. As a matter of fact, in the treatises on Penitence, Wanhope is never represented as resulting from Idleness, but always from Accidia, which, as we have seen, is something quite different from Idleness.

It remains to examine a few other points which Mr. Chambers makes at the end of this section. "If the Parson's Tale places the thief and traitor Judas under Sloth-Wanhope rather than under Covetousness, there is surely no reason why Robert the Robber should not go under that head also." The connection here depends on the word "thief" as applied to Judas. But Chaucer did not put Judas under Wanhope because Judas was sometimes called a thief.¹ Several of the treatises show why Judas is cited under Wanhope. *The Ayenbite of Inwyrt* says: "As a consequence of all these sorrowful points of sloth, the devil gives him the deadly stroke, and puts him into wanhope. Therefore he obtains his death, and slays himself, as despaired."² *Jacob's Well* is more explicit: "Seynt Jerom seyth, super Ps. lxx, pat Judas trespassyd more whan he hynged hym-self, panne whanne he betrayed crist, and dyspeyr was cause pat he slewe him-self" (p. 113, lines 11-12). And Robert Mannyng of Brunne, in *Handlyng Synne*, says:

Whanhope, Gode shelde vs þar fro,
Hyt steryþ a man hym self to slo;

¹ "Now comth wanhope, that is, despeir of the mercy of God, that comth somtyme of to muche outrageous sorwe, and somtyme of to muche drede; imagininge that he hath doon so muche sinne, that it wol nat availlen him, though he wolde repenten him and forsake sinne; thurgh which despeir or drede he abaundoneth al his herte to every maner sinne, as seith Seint Augustin. Which dampnable sinne, if that it continue unto his ende, it is cleped sinning in the holy gost. This horrible sinne is so perilous, that he that is despeired, ther nis no felonye ne no sinne that he douteth for to do, as shewed wel by Judas."—*C.T.*, I. 692.

² "Efter alle þise zorghulle poyns of sleupe him yeff þe dyeuel þane strok dyadlych and deþ him in to wanhope. Deruore he porchaceþ his dyap and him zelue slaþ, ase despayred" (p. 34).

So dede þe treytur Iudas,
 And forsoþe wurþy he was.
 Why was he moste wurþy ?
 For he hadde wanhope of Goddys mercy;
 For he wende þat Gode ne wulde
 Hauē forȝyue hym þat he hym solde.
 Syþþen lokede Gode vpp on Iudas,
 As who sey, "aske mercy for þy trespas."
 For ȝyf he hade askede hyt any syþe,
 Iesu hadde grauntede hym asswyþe,
 For hys mercy faylede noghte
 To any man þat hym besoghte. [Lines 5187-5200.]

Obviously Chaucer cites Judas under Wanhope, not to show that theft may proceed from Accidia, but to show that suicide may proceed from Despair.

Robert's "great, if intermittent, exertions" as a robber, says Mr. Chambers, do "not deprive him of his claim to a place under Sloth or Accidie, which is a neglect of God's grace and of honest industry. Sinful exertion rather qualifies than disqualifies. Wyclif emphasizes this: if a man is not doing good, he will be doing evil, 'for sumwhat mot a man do.' So in the *Ancren Riwele* it is made clear that Sloth does not exclude evil works, but that, on the contrary, the idle are the more prompt to do the Devil's bidding" (p. 6).

One who is familiar with passages in Michel and in Chaucer may wonder why they too were not quoted. Michel says:

For when the devil finds a man idle, he puts himself to work, and makes him first think evil and afterwards desire vulgarities, ribaldries, and lecheries, and makes him waste his time and neglect many good deeds which he might do, thru which he might gain paradise.¹

Chaucer says:

Thanne comth ydelnesse, that is the yate of alle harmes. An ydel man is lyk to a place that hath no walles; the develes may entre on every syde and sheten at him at discovert, by temptacion on every syde. This ydelnesse is the thurrok of alle wikked and vileyns thoghtes and of alle jangles, trufles, and of alle ordure.²

¹ "Vor huanne þe dyueel uynt þane man ydel he hine deþ to worke and deþ him uerst þenche kuead and efterward to wynni ulleynies, ribaudyes, lecheries, and his time lyese, and manye guodes þet he miȝte do huerof he miȝte wyinne paradis."—*Ayenbils*, p. 31.

² C.T., I. 713.

It is rather hard to refrain from thinking that the two latter passages prove too much. For, if Mr. Chambers' reasoning is applied logically, they prove that *every* sinful act—perjury, murder, sexual sin, theft, robbery, or whatnot—the performance of which was conceived by an idle man, would have to be classed as a manifestation of Accidia. This, of course, is a contention which Mr. Chambers would hardly attempt to maintain.

"There would seem then to be no ground for disturbing the order of the MSS, in so far as Robert is concerned," concludes Mr. Chambers. If Mr. Chambers will examine Mr. Manly's article on the "Lost Leaf," my letter to the *Nation* on the same subject, and Mr. Manly's "Terminal Note,"¹ he will discover that Mr. Manly and I not only seek no reason to disturb the order of the MSS, but have steadily maintained, and still maintain, that there is no reason for disturbing that order. What we do believe is that the lines about restitution and those about Robert the Robber do not belong under Sloth, and are not to be directly connected with it, but require for the transition a passage which has unfortunately been lost to us by the disappearance of a leaf at this point.

As to the fitness of Robert the Robber to serve as an exemplification of Sloth or Accidia, that is an entirely different matter, and, as I have shown, on this point there is every reason to disagree with Mr. Chambers' interpretation of his evidence, with his reasoning, and with his conclusions.

IV. SLOTH AND WICKED WINNINGS

Does Sloth result in the accumulation of wicked winnings?

If we accept Mr. Chambers' contentions about the A-text, all the following lines comprise the conclusion of A's Sloth:

banne sat Sleuþe vp and seynide hym faste,
And made auowe tofore God for his foule slouþe:
"Shal no Sonneday be þis seuen ȝer, but seknesse it make,
bat I ne shal do me er day to þe dere chirche,

¹ *Mod. Philology*, III, 359; *New York Nation*, May, 1909, p. 482; *Mod. Philology*, VII, 140.

And here masse and matynes, as I a monk were.
 Shal non ale aftir mete holde me þennis
 Til I haue euensong herd, I behote to þe rode. [235.]
 And ȝet wile I ȝelde aȝen, ȝif I so muchel haue, [236.]
 Al þat I wykkydly wan siþen I wyt hadde,
 And þeiȝ my liflode lakke, leten I nille
 Þat iche man shal haue his er I hennis wende.
 And wiþ þe residue and þe remenaunt, be þe Roode of Chestre,
 I wile seke Treuþe er I se Rome. [5. 229-241.]

Mr. Chambers claims that there is no break in sense between lines 235 and 236, and therefore that no gap in the text exists at that point. He admits that here he has to overcome "a more serious difficulty" than attaching Robert the Robber to Sloth. In order to overcome this difficulty he proposes to show first that here A is not very "incoherent" in putting a vow of restitution into the mouth of Sloth, and secondly that A is elsewhere very "incoherent." His reasoning proceeds thus:

1. Since "win" may be used in ME. without conveying the idea of great gain, the size of the "wicked winnings" may conceivably be small.
2. Whatever Sloth wins, he must win wickedly, because he gets it without working for it, or by withholding what is the property of others.
3. The penitence of Sloth might conceivably take the form of restitution of such "wicked winnings" as these.
4. Unintentional misappropriation might very well proceed from slothfulness.
5. The true winnings of the hard-working Piers are "associated with" the prompt repayment of debts.
6. In any event, the author of the A-text is "incoherent" in his accounts of some of the other sins, and elsewhere (pp. 6-9).

Mr. Chambers first wishes to show that the word "win" does "not necessarily convey any idea of great gain." "Win," he maintains, "may mean simply working for one's daily bread. Indeed, *to labour* is the primary meaning of 'win.'" Four quotations are offered by Mr. Chambers in support of his contention. An inspection of these four will show, however, that he was not fortunate in

his choice. His first quotation, two lines long, is taken from the middle of an address *to the rich*:

For þi I rede þe riche haue reuþe on þe pore.
 Þeiȝ ȝe ben miȝty to mote, beþ mek of ȝour werkis.
 For þe same mesour þat ȝe mete amys oþer ellis,
 ȝe shuln be weiȝe þer wiþ whanne ȝe wende hennes.
 For þeiȝ ȝe be trewe of ȝoure tunge, and treweliche *wynne*,
 And ek as chast as a child þat in chirche wepiþ.
 But ȝif ȝe loue lelly and lene þe pore,
 Of such good as God sent goodlyche parteþ,
 ȝe ne haue no more meryt in masse ne in oures
 Þanne Malkyn of hire maidenhod þat no man desiriþ.

[A 1. 149 ff.]

Obviously, the word here cannot mean "earn a bare living." In his second quotation "*wynnep*" clearly means "lay up a surplus for a rainy day."¹ His third quotation merely means that there are different ways of winning, and that taylor, tanners, and tillers of the earth win with their hands.²

The fourth piece of evidence is a quotation from a letter by Professor Skeat. "Winner is *worker*," says the letter. "If not, there's no point in the title of the poem *Winner and Waster*." It is perfectly apparent that, at the time this letter was written and printed, neither Professor Skeat nor Mr. Chambers had the contents of *Winner and Waster* clearly in mind. I have read the poem several times, and I have failed to discover how the word "winner" in the title can possibly mean "worker, laborer." Henry Bradley has described the contents of the poem, and I take two sentences from his article, which was printed in the *Athenaeum* for April 18, 1903, pp. 498-99. "The real subject of the allegory is the threatened conflict between the wasteful military nobility and the various bodies that were growing rich at its expense." "Wynnere's army consists of the four classes whose greed was about 1352 a general theme of invective—the mixed multitude of alien clerks intruded by the Pope into English

¹ "I warne ȝow werkmen, *wynnep* while ȝe mowe,
 For hungir hiderward hastiþ hym faste.
 He shal awake þurh water wastours to chaste." [A 7. 306-8.]

² "Websters and walkers, and winners with handen,
 As taylor and tanners, and tyllers of erthe." [C 1. 222.]

benefices, the lawyers, the friars, and the merchants."¹ Where are the workers, the laborers earning a bare living?²

There are, however, several passages in the A-text in which "win" does mean "get a living by hard labor, *earn* a livelihood." There is no passage, however, in the A-text, nor, so far as I have observed, in B or C, in which the word means "be the passive, idle recipient of a bare living." In the sense of "earn a mere living," the idea of hard physical labor, "swink," is inherent.³ Mr. Chambers himself recognizes this: "Indeed, *to labour* is the primary meaning of 'win' (cf. OE. *winnan*, to work, toil)." Does Mr. Chambers mean to claim that "Accidie, being the neglect of honest industry," is notable as toiling laborer?

¹ Wynnere's army is so described. For alien clerks, see ll. 143-48; lawyers, ll. 149-55; four orders of friars, ll. 156-87; merchants, ll. 188-92.

² This passage, a speech by waster to winner, is interesting and to the point:

"ȝee, wynnere," quod wastoure, "thi wordes are hye;
Bot I schall tell the a tale that tene schall the better:
When thou haste waltered and went and wakode alle þe nyghte,
And liche a wy in this werlde that wonnes the abowte,
And hase werpede thy wyde howses full of wolles sakkies—
The Bemys benden at the Rofe, siche Bakone there hynges,
Stuffed are sterlynges vndere stelen bowndes—
What scholde worthe of that wele if no waste come?
Some rote, some ruste, some Ratons fede,
let be thy cramynge of thi kystes, for cristis lufe of heuen.
late the peple and the pore hafe parte of thi siluere."

[Wynnere and Wastoure, 246-56.]

³ In the sense of "earn by hard physical labor" the word occurs in the A-text in the following passages:

"Summe putte hem to þe plouȝ and plejede ful selde,
In setting and sowyng swonke ful harde
And *wonnen* þat þise wastores wip glotonye destroiȝe."

[Prol. 20-22—not the critical text, but the reading of several MSS, and of the B-text.]

"He [Conscience] had wastour go werche what he best couȝe,
And *wynne* þat he wastide wip sum maner craft." [5. 24-25.]

"And alle maner of men þat be þe mete libbiȝ,
Helpiȝ hem werche wigtly þat *wynne* ȝoure foode." [7. 21-22.]

"De sauter seiȝ in þe salme of Beati omnes,
Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis &c.
He þat get his fode here wip trauaille of his hondis,
God ȝiueȝ hem his blissing þat here lifode here so *wynneȝ*." [7. 239.]

"Alle libbyng laboureris þat lyuen be here hondis,
Pat trewely taken and trewely *wynnen*,
And lyuen in loue and in lawe for here lowe hertis,
Hadde þe same absolucioun þat sent was to Peris." [8. 64-67.]

The word is also used with an abstract object (mercy, meed) in 3.230 and 4.63. In 4.53 it is used intransitively of Wisdom and Wit, who "wan" from Wrong as his lawyers in defending him from the consequences of his wicked deeds. It occurs twice in our passage, and once in 7.89.

But even though we see that the word, in some instances, does not convey an idea of great gain, but means "earn a bare living by hard toil," it is still advisable to see whether the word means that in the passage under discussion. It is, on the contrary, perfectly apparent that, as used here, "wan" has exactly the significance which Mr. Chambers is anxious to deprive it of.

And ȝet wile I ȝelde aȝen, ȝif I so muchel haue,
 Al þat I wykkidly *wan* sipen I wyt hadde,
 And þeiȝ my liflode lakke, leten I nille
 Þat iche man shal haue his er I hennis wende;
 And wiþ þe residue and þe remenaunt, be þe Roode of Chestre,
 I wile seke Treuþe er I se Rome. [5. 236-41.]

In this passage the speaker has quite evidently spent a lifetime in the pursuit of dishonest gain ("Al þat I wykkidly *wan* sipen I wyt hadde"); he further seems to have accumulated a competence ("þeiȝ my liflode lakke"), which he estimates will suffice ("ȝif I so muchel haue") to repay all that he has won wickedly, and perhaps leave a surplus sufficient to enable him to go on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Truth. Lazy *dikers* and *delvers* could hardly talk of having a residue and a remnant, large enough to pay for a pilgrimage, left over from their substance after restoring all the money that they had "won" through their idleness.

"Accidie, being the neglect of honest industry," resumes Mr. Chambers, "it follows that the slothful, above every man, wins wickedly . . . a man, in so far as he is idle, cannot 'truly win' at all."

Here Mr. Chambers is arguing on the assumption that Accidie, or Sloth, is identical with Idleness. As we have already seen, the terms are not identical. Accidia is not the neglect of honest industry, and A's Sloth is not pictured as Idleness, but as the neglecter of spiritual grace. And even B (whom Mr. Chambers identifies with A) does not understand the lines as Mr. Chambers at the moment wishes to take them. B contrives to have Sloth acquire wicked winnings by withholding wages and by the non-payment of debts, and says nothing about receiving payment for slovenly work.

Mr. Chambers next holds that the restitution of wicked winnings might conceivably be one form of penance or penitence imposed on Sloth to atone for his besetting sin. The remedies prescribed against Sloth in the treatises, we are told, almost invariably include something "variously called *dedbote*, *satisfaction*, *besinesse*, *magnanimity*, *magnificence*.¹ Could there be a better form of *satisfaction* or *besinesse*," we are asked, "than for Sloth to make amends to all whom he has wronged thru his slackness? This, at least, is how B understood the passage, and he has made the sense clearer by inserting lines above (B v. 429-35) showing how Sloth had failed to pay for that which he had borrowed."

This attempt to justify restitution as a part of Sloth's repentance depends upon the meaning of *dedbote* and *besinesse*. Mr. Chambers frankly admits that *dedbote* and *satisfaction* "of course need mean no more than penance or perhaps even penitence." But furthermore, neither word indicates a concrete kind of penance especially adapted to Sloth. Chaucer's Parson, at the beginning of his Tale, says of Penitence in general: "Verray parfit Penitence . . . stant on thre thinges; Contricioun of herte, Confessioun of mouth, and Satisfaccion."² "Cordis contritio, oris confessio, operis satisfactio," is the way the Roman penitentials put it. Dan Michel agrees.³ *Dedbote* is exactly the same thing as *satisfaction*, according to Michel.⁴ They constitute merely the third and general step in true penitence for any sin whatever.

Besinesse means simply praising and adoring God, praying for amendment, and the "werkes of penitence."⁵

¹ As Mr. Chambers does not rely on "magnanimity" and "magnificence" to establish his point, we need not mention them here. See Chaucer, *C.T.*, I. 730-40; and *Ayenbite of Inuyt*, pp. 164, 168.

² *C.T.*, I. 106.

³ *Ayenbite of Inuyt*, p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32, line 1, and p. 33, lines 1-2.

⁵ "Thanne is Accidie enemy to everich estaat of man; for certes, the estaat of man is in three maneres. Outhur it is thestaat of innocence, as was thestaat of Adam bifore that he fil into sinne; in which estaat he was holden to wirche, as in herynge and adouringe of God. Another estaat is the estaat of sinful men, in which estaat men been holden to labour in preyinge to God for amendement of hir sinnes, and that he wole graunte hem to aysen out of hir sinnes. Another estaat is thestaat of grace, in which estaat he is holden to werkes of penitence; and certes, to alle thise thinges is Accidie enemy and contrary. For he loveth no *besinesse* at al."—Chaucer, *C.T.*, I. 680 ff.

As well as we can judge, then—for Mr. Chambers gives no citation to support his purely speculative interpretation—*satisfaction* and *besinesse*, so far as they apply to Sloth, do not signify or imply restitution. It is naïve or devious to assert that they *may*, and then to proceed on the assumption that they *do*. At any rate, it is upon this tenuous possibility that Mr. Chambers builds his case.¹ Upon this, and one passage from the *Ancren Riwele*.

"In the *Ancren Riwele*, whilst the withholding of wages is equated with robbery and placed under Avarice, *carelessness with regard to pledges* is put under Sloth." [Italics mine.]

The passage is:

Whoever does not warn another of his harm or of his loss, is it not sluggish carelessness or poisonous spite? False tithing, with-holding a pledge, or an object found, or a loan, is it not covetousness or theft? With-holding another's wage beyond its right term, is it not strong robbery? That is under covetousness. Or, if one takes worse care of anything lent or entrusted to his care than he knows it deserves [or, than he knows he ought], is it not treachery or the carelessness of sloth?²

Mr. Chambers' argument here obviously depends on the meaning of the phrase which he believes signifies "carelessness with regard to pledges." Clearly none of the first four sentences can be regarded as containing any reference to that subject. The last sentence, then, I take it, is the one upon which the argument depends. Literally

¹ G. G. Coulton, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, VII, 372-73, has published a passage in which sloth is mentioned in connection with covetousness. In the so-called "Wycliffite adaptation" of Archbishop Thoresby's catechism, covetousness is said to consist in wrongfully getting or wrongfully holding; wrongfully holding is defined as not giving to God, or to holy church, or to our even-Christian, what we ought to give according to debt and according to law, "but holding what we have to our own ease." Here is inserted a line, "not only we sin in covetousness, but also in sloth." This line is not in the parallel passage of Thoresby, published in 1357. It is quite obviously an afterthought of the later adapter, suggested by the phrase "to our own ease," (I can find no evidence concerning the date of the Wycliffite adaptation or of the MSS in which it is preserved.) There is, of course, a wide difference between a wealthy covetous man's falling into slothful habits, and, on the other hand, the notion of a slothful man's falling into the sin of covetousness. In the Wycliffite adaptation, the sin of sloth is explicitly described as spiritual negligence. "With-holding" is not mentioned in the account of sloth.

² "De þet ne warneð oðer of his vuel oðer of his lure nis hit slouh zemeleste oðer attri onde? Mis-iteoðeget, etholden cwide, oðer fundles, oðer lone, nis hit ziscunge oðer þeohte? Etholden oðres hure ouer his rihte terme, nis hit strong reñac? Þet is under ziscunge. Oðer gif me zemeð wurse ei þing ileaned oðer biteñ to witene þen he wene þet hit ouh, nis hit trichele oðer zemeleste of slouhðe?"—*Ancren Riwele*, ed. Morton, p. 208.

translated, the sentence means: "Or, if one takes worse care of anything lent or entrusted to his care than he knows it deserves [or, than he knows he ought], is it not treachery or the carelessness of sloth?"

It is difficult to believe that Mr. Chambers could have inferred that careless guardianship of an object lent or entrusted to one's care is the equivalent of "unintentional misappropriation." But he obviously has inferred it. And the reason is, I think, that he drew his conclusion not from the ME. original, but from Morton's awkwardly worded translation on the opposite page: "Or, if any one keeps anything lent, / or committed to his care, worse than he thinks that he ought—is it not treachery, or slothful negligence?" Was not Mr. Chambers misled by the commas and by the line's end coming after "lent," into taking the first verb "keeps" as separate from the adverb "worse" which qualifies it? Did he think therefore that "keeps" meant "retain wrongfully"?

Still worse for his case, however, is the strong evidence against him contained in the second and third sentences of the extract: "Withholding a loan, is it not covetousness or theft? Withholding another's wage beyond its right term, is it not strong robbery? That is under covetousness." And the *Parson's Tale*,¹ *Jacob's Well*,² the *Ayenbite*,³ and *Handlyng Synne*,⁴ all bear explicit evidence to the same effect.

Moreover, Mr. Chambers has insisted so strongly that "the intention must count" that we have a right to examine the intention. Does the author of the B-text (who alone attributes to Sloth withholding wages and loans) represent Sloth as indulging in "unintentional misappropriation"?

ȝif I bigge and borwe it, but ȝif it be ytailed,
I forȝete it as ȝerne, and ȝif men me it axe,
Sixe sithes or seuene I forsake it with othes,
And þus tene I trewe men ten hundreth tymes.
And my seruautz some tyme here salarye is bihynde;
Reuthe it is to here [þe] rekenynge whan we shal rede acomptes;
So with wikked wille and wraththe my werkmen I paye.

[5. 429-35.]

¹ C. T., I, 799.

² P. 129.

³ Pp. 34-37.

⁴ Lines 2409 ff. and 2435 ff.

Sloth, according to B, forgets his debts *eagerly* unless they are tallied; he denies them with oaths six or seven times; he is testy and wrathful when he is finally forced to pay his servants' hire. Where is the "unintentional misappropriation"?¹

Finally, what was the mediaeval opinion of the effect of Sloth upon one's property? Did the fourteenth century believe that the idleness and negligence which proceeded from Sloth caused such an unintentional increase as to require restitution? Read the *Parson's Tale*: "Now certes this foule sinne, accidie, is eek a ful greet enemy to the lyfode of the body, for it ne hath no purveaunce agayn temporel necessitee, for it forslaweth and forsluggeth, and destroyeth alle goodes temporeles by recchelesnesse."²

However that may be, Mr. Chambers believes that he has found in the A-text some evidence that A may have "associated" wicked winning with Sloth. It is true that he does not find any passage which does "associate" wicked winning with Sloth. What he finds is a passage in which "true winning" is "associated with" repayment of debts. Piers, in making his will, says:

My wyf shal haue of þat I wan wiþ treuþe and namore.
And dele among my frendis and my dere children,
For þeiȝ I deiȝe today my dettis ben quytte.
I bar hom þat I borewide er I to bedde ȝede. [7. 89-92.]

Here, Mr. Chambers believes, we have evidence that to Sloth may rightly be attributed the non-payment of debts and the withholding of servants' wages. In this passage, he says, "Our author associates prompt repayment with 'true winning.' Yet it is asserted to be incredible that by 'wicked winning' he can have meant slackness in repayment of debt."

This is unfair. No one has ever maintained that unpaid money—debts and servants' wages—is anything except "wicked winnings." All I maintain is that, outside the B-text, no mediaeval writer, so far as I (and apparently Mr. Chambers) can discover, attributes these particular "wicked winnings," or indeed any others,

¹ Mr. Manly pointed this out six months before Mr. Chambers' paper appeared. See *Mod. Philology*, July, 1909, pp. 28-29.

² *C.T.*, I. 685.

to Sloth. And quite evidently B is simply trying by an interpolation to make the best of an inexplicable situation that attributes "wicked winning" to Sloth (by a textual accident, of course, of the history of which B knew nothing).

Moreover, it is to be observed that the passage in the will says nothing about "*wicked winnings*" and *Sloth*. It only says that when Piers dies, his wife, who will be his executrix, will be able to distribute to his heirs *all* that he leaves, because no outstanding debts will deplete his estate.

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[To be concluded]

A FURTHER STUDY OF THE HEROIC TETRAMETER

There is a type of line in heroic verse which, like the rest of heroic verse, is usually classed as a pentameter, but which to my mind is properly a tetrameter. Examples of this type are found in the lines:

A thing of beauty is a joy forever;
To point a moral or adorn a tale;
The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power;
Battle's magnificently stern array;
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
Trip the pert fairies and the dapper elves;
And, like Limander, am I trusty still.
And I, like Helen, till the Fates me kill;
And sometimes lurk I in a gossip's bowl
In very likeness of a roasted crab;
Remould it, nearer to the heart's desire;
Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried.

In two earlier papers¹ I have presented evidence that the line is a tetrameter, and in this paper further evidence will be presented to support the same position.

But if the line is a tetrameter, what then? Why, to say that the line is a tetrameter implies a fundamental criticism of the commonly accepted ways of studying metrics. It means that we have been using a system of measurement which has not enabled us to distinguish between four and five feet except in simple cases, say between

The stag at eve had drunk his fill

and

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day.

In the more difficult case, to be discussed, we have accepted the judgment of tradition that the line is a pentameter, without questioning this judgment any too closely. We have defined pentameter lines as those lines which tradition has called pentameter.

¹ "A Type of Four-Stress Verse in Shakespeare," *New Shakespeareana*, January, 1911; "A Scientific Basis for Metrics," *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1913.

But now, in departing from tradition, let us state at once the definitions and assumptions on which our work is based. They are as follows:

1. A line may not be classed until it has been read, or at least is supposed to have been read. In defense of this principle, we may say that it is verse *as it sounds* which concerns us; verse as it looks has nothing to do with meters. In terms of print it is difficult to say what tetrameter means. In terms of sound, then:

2. A line will be called *tetrameter* if a given reading suggests four equal time-parts, called *feet* or measures. Here is a definition which means something, no matter how objectionable it may be to some readers, for we *can* read lines so as to suggest four equal time-parts. A crude way of doing this would be to read the line

The stág at éve had drúnk his fill

so as to make the *stressed vowels* (that is, the vowels which divide the verse) coincide with consecutive beats of a metronome. But it is not necessary to read our poetry to a metronome in order to suggest equal time-parts any more than to play our music in this way. Gabrilowitsch brings out Chopin's rhythms rather well, but he would make a poor showing by the side of a metronome, if we should allow the metronome to judge.

The objection may be raised that time-parts and measures are all very well for music, but we are dealing with verse, and the phenomena of verse may not be explained in terms of time-parts and measures. Anyone who believes this, and thinks with Mr. Saintsbury that time is "a word of fear in prosody" and that by its use "great and unnecessary mischief is likely to be done," will not be interested further in this paper, for it will seem to him that a classification of verse with respect to time is of no importance.

But, taking the time basis for granted, let us define the given type¹ as a tetrameter which becomes a heroic pentameter if the second foot is read as two feet of two syllables each. For example,

A thínġ of beauté is a jóy forevéer

¹ Professor Gummere (F. B. Gummere, "On the Translation of Beowulf," *American Journal of Philology*, VII [1896], 57 ff.), writing from a different point of view and on a different problem, describes lines of this type by saying that they have four strong stresses, a heaping up of light syllables in the middle of the line, and a weak stress. He would count this weak stress in the middle of the line as one of five stresses, still calling the lines pentameter. Without discussing Professor Gummere's definitions, or his interesting and

is a heroic tetrameter, because if we read the second foot as two feet,

A thín of béauty ís a jóy fórever,

we have the familiar heroic pentameter.¹

Let us distinguish the heroic tetrameter from certain other lines. In general it has ten syllables, but the definition "a tetrameter line of ten syllables" would not be exact, for the reason that there are other ten-syllable tetrameters, for example, the doggerel line

Fell óver the thréshóld and bróke my shín.

[*Love's Labour's Lost.*]

Again, not in heroic verse,

To a spéeding wínd and a bóunding wáve;

[Browning, *Song, Paracelsus.*]

Séntencing to éxile the bríght Sun-Gód.

[Meredith, *Phoebus.*]

In heroic verse, Shakespeare and Milton write a number of ten-syllable tetrameters that are not of our type; for example:

Thánk me no thánkings, nor próud me no próuds;

[*Romeo and Juliet.*]

To the gárdén of blíss, thy séat prépared;

[*Paradise Lost.*]

and Donne is fond of using in heroic verse a tetrameter which again is not of our type, for example:

Will háve me cut úp to survéy each párt.

The reason we discard these lines in forming our definition is that no one of them is used often enough to give it the distinction of a norm, while the line that we are considering is found in every type of heroic verse, in blank verse, couplets, quatrains, sonnets.

valuable article, I reach a different conclusion in terms of my own definitions, since I make these lines tetrameters, and Professor Gummere's "weak stress" becomes in my classification no stress at all. This does not mean necessarily a contradiction of Professor Gummere's results, since I am using the word "stress" in a different sense.

¹ It would be quite possible, of course, to turn a pentameter into a tetrameter by doubling up, say, the third and fourth feet instead of the second and third, for example:

Here fálling hóuses thúnder on your héads

(cf. Gummere, *loc. cit.*; the stresses are mine), but the usage among readers is not so common. Readers do not make heroic lines tetrameters just because they happen to have four "strong stresses," for if so, about two-thirds of heroic verse would be read tetrameter and this is not the case (Gummere, *loc. cit.*; also E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearean Grammar*, p. 330). Instead of two lines in three only about one line in ten is read tetrameter.

So much in order to distinguish the given line from other tetrameters. But may the line be fairly called a tetrameter? It is a tetrameter if readers and poets make it so. What evidence have we at hand?

First, an experiment in the psychological laboratory¹ showed that, as a matter of actual time taken in the reading, three readers divided lines of the given type into four parts approximately equal, rather than into five, thus making certain readings of heroic lines tetrameters on the objective evidence of the recording instrument. Let us consider also evidence on the subjective side. As far as my observation has gone during the last eight years, every reader of heroic verse makes heroic tetrameter of certain lines; but this much is noteworthy, that, in general (with the exception of musicians, who are accustomed to measure time-values with the ear), the more clearly a line has been read tetrameter, the more stoutly the reader insists that he has read it pentameter. In general, the better the reader the worse his analysis, until his attention is caught by some such device as the following. Consider Milton's couplet

Ánd from rebéllion shall dérive his náme
Thóugh of rebéllion others hé accúse.

The metrical importance of "others" is so great that the line containing it is read pentameter. The metrical importance of "shall" is so slight that the line containing it is read tetrameter. To show the difference between the lines, suppose that we reverse the scansion:

Ánd from rebéllion sháll dérive his náme
Thóugh of rebéllion others hé accúse.

The reading will probably be found unnatural and highly artificial, and probably we should never hear the passage read in this way, except as an exercise. We should all read as pentameter Milton's line of eleven syllables

Distúrbed not, wáiting close the appróach of mórn.
[*Paradise Lost.*]

But suppose that we omit the syllable "close." The remaining line,

Distúrbed not, wáiting the appróach of mórn,
is a heroic line in good and regular standing—but a tetrameter.

¹ University of Michigan, August, 1912. The readers were Professors Meader and Sheppard and the writer, and twenty-two readings were taken, most of them by Meader and Sheppard. See "A Scientific Basis for Metrics," *Modern Language Notes*, May, 1913.

We have noticed that readers, more or less unconsciously, have made our line a tetrameter. It is probable that poets also, more or less unconsciously, have made it a tetrameter. A reader often argues that the line is pentameter because he can scan it as pentameter,

Tee-túm tee-túm tee-túm tee-túm tee-túm

A thínq of beáuty ís a jóy forevérr,

being wholly influenced by the bugaboo of classic scansion, and quite regardless of the fact that he does not *read* the line in this way at all. So, probably, a poet using heroic tetrameters unconsciously, calls them pentameters because they might be read so, and not because he would like to have them read so.

The first evidence that poets have used the heroic tetrameter as a tetrameter is one stated in an earlier paper, that Shakespeare seems to have used the line as a formal relief from monotony when his verse was most rigid. It occurs oftener, therefore, in the earlier plays, and so furnishes a chronology test for the plays.¹ When there were

¹ *New Shakespeareana*, January, 1911, p. 14.

Play	Approximate Date	Percentage
* <i>Love's Labour's Lost</i>	1589	12.1
<i>Titus Andronicus</i>	1584-89	13.4
<i>Comedy of Errors</i>	1589-91	15.2
‡ <i>Henry VI</i>	1591-92	14.8
‡ <i>Henry VI</i>	1591-92	13.8
<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>	1593	14.2
<i>Richard III</i>	1593	16
<i>Richard II</i>	1593	14.2
<i>A Midsummer-Night's Dream</i>	1594	13.2
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	1594	11.4
<i>King John</i>	1595	14.2
‡ <i>Henry IV</i>	1596	14.6
<i>Merchant of Venice</i>	1596	11.9
‡ <i>Henry IV</i>	1598	14.5
<i>Henry V</i>	1599	12.9
<i>As You Like It</i>	1599	10.8
† <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>	1599	6.4
<i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>	1599	12
<i>Twelfth Night</i>	1600	10.9
<i>Hamlet</i>	1600	10.4
<i>Julius Caesar</i>	1600	10.2
<i>All's Well</i>	1601	10.1
<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>	1599-1605	10.6
<i>Measure for Measure</i>	1603	9.7
<i>Othello</i>	1604	9.5
<i>King Lear</i>	1605	7.1
<i>Macbeth</i>	1606	8.6
<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>	1608	7.7
<i>Coriolanus</i>	1609	6.2
<i>Winter's Tale</i>	1610	7.4
<i>Cymbeline</i>	1610	6.9
‡ <i>Henry VIII</i>	1611	7.3
<i>Tempest</i>	1612	6.1

* Corrected in 1597.

† 266 verses.

‡ Act I, scenes 1, 2; Act II, scene 3; Act III, scene 2 to King's exit; Act V, scene 1.

fewer run-on lines, fewer lines with light endings, and so on, Shakespeare relieved his verse by occasionally passing to another meter, using a line that had been allowed in heroic verse from the time of Chaucer.

In order to appreciate the value of this relief, let us consider a passage that neglects it entirely, taken from the *Steele Glas* by George Gascoigne, 1576. So far as I have read (not far) Gascoigne does not use the heroic tetrameter at all. He follows consistently the rule that "we vse none other order but a foote of two sillables, wherof the first is depressed or made short, and the second is eleuate or made long: and that sound or scanning continueth throughout the verse." Gascoigne himself must have been conscious of the monotony of his verses, for he says a few lines later, "And surely I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wrything, that there is none other foote vsed but one. . . . But since it is so, let vs take the forde as we finde it." As a result of taking the ford as he finds it, Gascoigne writes hundreds of verses of which the following are typical:

The Nightingale, whose happy noble hart,
No dole can daunt, nor feareful force affright,
Whose chereful voice, doth comfort saddest wights,
When she hir self, hath little cause to sing.
Whom louers loue, bicause she plaines their greues,
She wraies their woes, and yet relieues their payne,
Whom worthy mindes, alwayes esteemed much,
And grauest years, haue not disdainde hir notes;
(Only that king, proud Tereus by his name,
With murdring knife, did carue hir pleasant tong,
To couer so, his owne foule filthy fault).

The opening lines of *Richard III* are practically all end-stopped, like the Gascoigne lines, but in the first thirteen lines Shakespeare has put five heroic tetrameters, so that any Gascoigne monotony is at once out of the question. This monotony could be restored, in large measure, by arbitrarily reading all the tetrameters as pentameters:

Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York—

a thing we are by no means willing to do, although we have been quite willing to scan the lines as pentameters.

As a second evidence that poets have considered our line a tetrameter, we may notice certain cases in which two consecutive dimeter lines combined make a heroic tetrameter. Then, if twice two is four in this field of investigation, we have an illustration of our law. We have in recognized dimeter the following couplets:

Comes this way sailing
Like a stately ship;
[Milton, *Samson*.]

The pleasant waters
Of the river Lee
.....
Their thunder rolling
From the Vatican;
[Mahony, *Bells of Shandon*]

They see the Centaurs
In the upper glens;
[M. Arnold, *Strayed Reveller*.]

The three blind sisters
With their lamps of gold.
[Schütze, *Translation of Maeterlinck*.]

Each of the foregoing illustrations gives us a pair of dimeter lines which may be read as a single heroic line, and in this line it is the "evident intention of the poet" that there should be four feet and not five. We have evidence, then, that certain poets have recognized the heroic tetrameter, albeit in two parts.

This evidence is particularly clear in the following illustration, taken from Matthew Arnold's "Voice." We have the passage

Prayers that tomorrow shall in vain be sped,
and ten lines later,

Strains of glad music at a funeral.

Now one of these passages is written by the poet as a dimeter couplet and one as a single heroic line. If the reader is not too familiar with the poem, it might interest him to determine which is the couplet and which the single line, and to ask himself whether the two forms might not be interchanged without affecting the sound of the passage in the least.

Besides the dimeter couplets, there are lines of our type in recognized tetrameter which would pass for heroic lines if found in heroic verse. Consider the line

Three days the flowers of the garden fair
in connection with the line

To rain a shower of commanded tears.

If the context were not known, I doubt if one could tell with certainty whether both lines occur in tetrameter, or both in pentameter, or whether one line is of one kind and one of the other. In order to strengthen this impression, I omit the references, and only wish that the lines were less familiar.

If the reader has satisfied himself with regard to these lines, let him consider the following:

When spite of cormorant devouring Time
and

Black as a cormorant the screaming blast,

and let him answer to his own satisfaction the same questions regarding them: Are both lines in pentameter or both in tetrameter? And if one is in pentameter and one in tetrameter, which is which?

But the following lines are surely heroic tetrameters in the midst of ordinary tetrameters:

I shake the hours in the hour glass;

[A. Symons, *Dance of Seven Deadly Sins*.]

Each evolution of perfecting plan;

[R. H. McCarthney, *Anti-Christ*.]

When France was glorious and blood red, fair;

[Swinburne, *Les Noyades*.]

That he was never on a woman born;

[From Percy Fol. MS (modernized).]

Carry us over on your nice white back;

[Grimm's *Household Stories*, trans. by Lucy Crane.]

I may pray different from other men

To hell with Texas and the skew-ball black.

[Lomax, *Cowboy Songs*.]

Such use, however, is not common. To find the line used more frequently in this way, we turn to "The Congo" by Vachel Lindsay.

The rhythm of this poem is set up as tetrameter by such unpromising lines as:

and Mumbo-jumbo will hoo-doo you
 Boom-lay, boom-lay, boom-lay boom.

In the third part of the poem, still tetrameter, we have a passage where the heroic tetrameters follow each other in rapid succession (the theme at this point is not heroic):

A good old negro in the slums of the town
Preached at a sister for her velvet gown.
Howled at a brother for his low-down ways
His prowling, guzzling, sneak-thief days.
Beat on the Bible till he wore it out
Starting the jubilee revival shout.
And some had visions, as they stood on chairs
And sang of Jacob, and the golden stairs.

Lindsay also uses the heroic tetrameter in heroic verse. For example:

Into the acres of the new-born state
He poured his strength and plowed his ancient name;
 [*The Proud Farmer.*]
Worn out with honors and apart from her
They died as many a self made exile dies.
 [*The Hearth Eternal.*]

There is another interesting evidence of a poet's using the heroic tetrameter as a tetrameter. In his poem of five stanzas, "Corinna's Going A-Maying," Herrick writes a heroic couplet in the middle of each stanza with the exception of the fifth, but in the fifth the first line is a heroic tetrameter, and the second an eight-syllable tetrameter:

And as a vapour or a drop of rain
Once lost can ne'er be found again.

Inasmuch as this is the only metrical irregularity in the poem, and as Herrick's verse is well known for its fineness of finish, is it not clear that the second line was written, consciously or unconsciously, as a metrical equivalent for the first? If this is so, the poet must have conceived of the line

And as a vapour or a drop of rain
as a tetrameter.

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NOTE ON THE CARDENIO-DOUBLE FALSEHOOD PROBLEM

Owing to the fact that the author was unable to read the proof of "The Cardenio-Double Falsehood Problem" (*Modern Philology*, September, 1916), an error is apparent in each of the two tables used on pages 276 and 278. In the former, the percentage of feminine caesural line pauses in the parts of the play designated as "by another" should be 23.3 instead of 13.3. Only when this correction is made, is the statement accompanying the table true, namely, that the parts by another author show a larger percentage of all the peculiarities of style except feminine endings. In the same way, the statements regarding the table on page 278 do not hold true unless the proportion of weak and light endings in *Two Noble Kinsmen* is corrected. It is 0.23, not 23. The footnote on page 277, giving the division employed by Neilson and Thorndike, should read "assigned I, iv (28 ff.)."

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Common Conditions. Edited by TUCKER BROOKE. Elizabethan Club Reprints, No. 1. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1915. Pp. xv+90.

Professor Brooke's publication of *Common Conditions* from a complete quarto text found in Lord Mostyn's library renders an important service to students of the Elizabethan drama. Except for obvious corrections furnished by the fragmentary quarto or based on misprints, the text is a type facsimile in black letter. The introduction, notes, appendixes, and variant readings afford much material of permanent value. Nevertheless, the handsome volume remains rather the basis for a study of the problems of the play than a final critical edition. Most notable among the problems still demanding solution are the questions of authorship, of source, and of the curiously truncated ending.

Already Professor Brooke has supplemented his introduction with a discussion in *Modern Language Notes* (December, 1916) of the source pointed out by Miss Gothein—Piccolomini's *L'Amor costante*. Earlier Dr. L. M. Ellison in his still unpublished dissertation for the University of Chicago, *The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court*, had noted many marked resemblances between *Common Conditions* and the eighth novel of the fifth day of Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*. Both studies indicate that the Italian play and novella rather belong to the same saga as the English play than furnish the source,¹ and Dr. Ellison discovers in *Common Conditions* many conventions of Greek romance. It remains to be determined whether there was another source closer to the English play or whether one of the known Italian forms of the story was used with free adaptations of romantic conventions. For the latter view there is some evidence in the parallels to *Common Conditions* to be found in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, *Hymenaeus*, *Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, and *Hispanus*.

The meaning of the unsatisfactory ending is discussed by Professor Brooke in a note, where he broaches the possibility that the play is only a first part, but seems inclined to a theory that the incompleteness is due to excisions by the Master of the Revels. There is nothing in *Common Conditions*, however, to suggest a type of material that would call for cuts, particularly in this climax; whereas reasonable ground exists for considering the play only

¹The story became popular in French drama with Louis le Jars' *Lucelle*, 1576, an adaptation of *L'Amor costante*. Cf. Lancaster, *The French Tragi-Comedy*, pp. 62, 63, and 164 for bibliography.

the first of two parts. The entry on the Stationers' Register with its fee of twelve pence is a strong indication of a two-part play. Of the numerous entries on the Register before 1600 no single play, unless it be *Common Conditions*, is entered for more than four pence (the standard fee till about the time of *Common Conditions*) or six pence (the standard fee later), but around 1600 several plays in two parts are entered at a cost of twelve pence.

The entry fee is not decisive, for irregularities in fees are frequent, but the strong evidence of the register is supported by the play itself. In the first place, the incomplete ending and the excuse given in the epilogue were prepared, not at the time of printing the play, but at the time of acting it, for the prologue and epilogue were written for an audience, not for readers. Both, but particularly the prologue, seem to have been couched in general terms suitable for recitation anywhere. The prologue asking a favorable reception begs the audience to "bide the last as well as first to see." The request is made in order that the audience may not condemn the production before seeing it through, and would apply naturally enough to a play with only one part, but it fits in with the idea of a two-part play. At the moment when Lamphedon has apparently died from poison and Metrea has drunk of the same cup, the speaker of the epilogue steps forward and halts the actors with the plea:

As wee are now by Time cut of from farther time to spende.
So time saith to vs seace now here, your audience mutch ye wrong
If farther now to weary them the time ye do prolonge.

Then addressing the audience he says:

Offence we trust we haue none made, but if ought haue scapt a mis
we pardon aske, and will amend when we know what it is.

While most plays with two parts have some reference to the second at the close of the first, and while we should not expect an Elizabethan dramatist to conclude a first part at the exact climax after the manner of a modern continued story, it is really easier to regard *Common Conditions* as having its resolution in a complementary play than to regard it as having no resolution at all. At any rate, I believe that the conclusion was planned with a view to a second part, that "first" and "last" of the prologue may refer to the two parts, and that "now" of the epilogue was emphasized to indicate a temporary break in the drama, perhaps in the middle of a festival day. The promise of amendment, also, while entirely conventional, may glance at a happy termination of the poisoning scene, which most audiences would take amiss.

Again, aside from its abrupt ending, *Common Conditions* shows signs of a failure to develop the threads of the plot according to the dramatist's design. Obviously additional action was planned for Sabia and her father Mountagos, the physician. Mountagos promises his daughter her lover, a promise which might well have been fulfilled in a second part much as the

very similar physician of *The Rare Triumphs* brings about a happy ending of his son's love affair. Moreover, the separation of Galiarbus' family, the meeting without a recognition of each other, and the love of both father and brother for Clarisia demand revelations and adjustments of love affairs as in *Menaphon* and many another sixteenth-century story. In two other points the text of *Common Conditions* suggests a continuation. Practically at the end of the play (l. 1810) the Vice promises a new disguise, but nothing comes of it. Further, the title-page speaks of Leostines (presumably Galiarbus in disguise) as a lover of Metrea—that is, of his own daughter. This motive is carefully prepared for in the play by his regard for Metrea and his intense passion at the discovery of her love affair, but it is only in the next to the last line that he breaks out in a cry of love. The play itself, then, seems to me to indicate that the drug is only a sleeping potion to be explained by later revelations.

This is just what contemporary literature would lead one to look for. Even on the basis of the two somewhat unsatisfactory sources suggested for *Common Conditions*, a continuation of the play would be expected. Indeed, *L'Amore costante* and the French *Lucelle* mentioned above deal with the poisoning scene exactly as I believe that the complete *Common Conditions* did. Further, the conventionality of the sleeping potion as a complicating element in the romantic stories and plays of the Renaissance points as strongly toward a second play. The story of Romeo and Juliet, dramatized as early as 1562, though tragic, represents the fatal drug as only a sleeping potion. Among the accidents that beset the course of true love in the Cambridge play *Hymenaeus*, 1579, is the lover's drinking, by mistake, with supposedly fatal results, a sleeping potion brewed by the physician Pantomagus, who resembles Mountagos of *Common Conditions*. In the later Cambridge *Machiavellus*, 1597, and in Dekker's *Honest Whore*, Part I, one of the complicating forces in a romantic love plot is that the girl, who has been drugged with a sleeping potion, is taken for dead by her lover. Another motive of *Common Conditions*, the father's condemning to death his own daughter and her lover, is found not infrequently in the romantic plots of the period, as in the Cambridge play *Hispanus*, 1597, or in *Arcadia*, where it is a son and his betrothed who are condemned by the father. But convention demands that the situation shall be saved in the end.

Conventions of romantic story, then, would seem to call for a second part of *Common Conditions*, in which the lovers revive, the subsidiary love affair is worked out, and revelations of kinship are made. *Common Conditions* advances from one startling incident to another, and we should expect the complicated entanglements with which the present play closes to be unraveled with something like the same epic amplexness of treatment.

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A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050-1400. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS, M.L., M.A., PH.D., Professor of English Literature in Beloit College. Published under the Auspices of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, MDCCCCXVI. Pp. xv+941. \$5.00 net.

This manual, says the Preface, makes the first attempt to treat all the writings in print, from single lines to the most extensive pieces, composed between 1050 and 1400. It is unique in that besides attempting to deal with all such pieces, it groups each piece with others of its kind; indicates its probable date, its MS or MSS (with dates), its form, extent, original dialect, and sources (when known); presents comments on each longer production, with an abstract of its contents, and supplies a bibliography of each composition.

That so extensive an undertaking as this should be entirely free from misprints, misapprehensions, and omissions is not humanly possible, and the author himself did not dare hope for impeccability. But the work as a whole is executed with amazing industry, conscientiousness, impartiality, learning, and intelligence, and it would be both invidious and useless to list the comparatively few slips which have attracted the attention of the present reviewer. It is to be hoped that the author himself, and other scholars by communicating with him, will prepare for the revised edition which certainly ought to be necessary in five or ten years; for the work as it stands far surpasses every other bibliographical aid in its field and is absolutely indispensable to all serious students of English literature.

Many years ago Professor F. I. Carpenter and I planned a bibliographical history of English literature somewhat along the lines of the Teuffel-Schwabe *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*. Various causes prevented us from doing more than making a few futile preparations for this stupendous undertaking, and perhaps it is too ambitious a task to be successfully carried out *primo impetu*, even with the aid of the members of large classes in bibliography. It is gratifying to note the number of important contributions to such a history which have been published recently or are in press, such as this volume, Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*, and Professor C. S. Northup's *Bibliography of Bibliographies of English Literature*. Perhaps the solution of the problem lies in the production of a series of volumes similar to Professor Wells's. Surely no more useful gift could be made to students of the history of literature in England.

It is noteworthy that the present volume was made possible financially by the aid of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, which has a long and honorable record for such munificence. Professor Brown's *Register* is financed by the Bibliographical Society of London and Professor Northup's

is to be published by the Bibliographical Society of America. In England and America such volumes can rarely be published without such financial guaranties. It is to be hoped that universities as well as learned societies will more and more foster research by financing important publications.

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A History of American Literature since 1870. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE. New York: The Century Company, 1915. Pp. 449.

There are encouraging signs from various quarters that American literature is on the way to receiving some fair share of attention from the American scholar. The small but distinguished series from the Columbia University Press is uninterrupted. There are rumors of further studies on Whitman, American verse, American drama, and American poetry. The *Cambridge History* volumes are ready for publication. The first approach at a valuation of the magazine in America is recently out; even a life of the much-debated O. Henry; and, more important than these, Professor Pattee's *History of American Literature since 1870*.

There is no question as to the pertinence of a book on this subject. Great reaches in this extensive field have been left almost without a survey; and no other adequate map has been made to show the relative importance of its various parts, or to display the whole period in relation to our earlier intellectual history. The chapters on "The Laughter of the West," "The Discovery of Pike County," and "The Era of Southern Themes and Southern Writers" present fresh material with fresh enthusiasm. The discussion of "The Transition Poets" puts Taylor, Stoddard, Stedman, and Aldrich quite in their proper and subordinate pigeonhole, and "The Recorders of the New England Decline" does a similar judicial service to Mrs. Stowe and her successors. Moreover, the underlying thesis of the book is well maintained: that since 1870 American literature has been in degree and in quantity more largely indigenous than in the earlier periods. For these reasons the book is instructive and suggestive.

In fact, the thesis is so clearly demonstrable, that Professor Pattee's very enthusiasm for it is somewhat unfortunate. We should be ready to admit that he was "the first that ever burst into that silent sea" without the asseverations in his preface. When we read his inscription "with full heart" to his college teachers and associates, we can't help feeling that too often in the ardor of composition it overflowed. The work is blemished at many points with the defects that result from an excess of zeal.

In the first place, it is spotted with the inaccuracies of overemphasis. In the effort to "ride his formula roughshod" through the book, Professor Pattee omits the non-collegians Alcott and Bryant from a list of "leading

authors" which includes Parker "with his honorary M.A." among the college men, in spite of the fact that he never attended a class at Harvard. He numbers Emerson in a "whole school" who "lived in the old lands of culture and . . . visited these lands as often as they could." He makes Harte, Clemens, and Cable stumble upon the tremendous fact "that America was full of borderlands where the old régime had yielded to the new"—a fact already recorded in an imposing pile of books by Simms and Cooper. He gives Thoreau, who died in 1862, a posthumous membership in the period after 1870 by a process of chronological extradition which, to say the least, is cruel and unusual.

This forensic method of writing appears not only in the book at large; it is pursued in the discussion of individual authors, as, for example, in the treatment of Mark Twain, to whom much space is very properly devoted. Professor Pattee says (p. 45) that with him "American literature became for the first time really national," although he elsewhere says of Whitman's poems (p. 171), which appeared twelve years earlier, that "they are American absolutely, in spirit, in color, in outlook." He makes the extraordinary statement that Mark Twain removed from the West "so as to see it in its true perspective." He ignores his fifteen months in New York and Philadelphia when he says that Clemens lived till he was thirty in parts of America where, as Hawthorne has put it, "the damned shadow of Europe had never fallen." He forgets all the fine prose poetry in his books of travel when saying that Twain's books nowhere rise into the pure serene of literature unless touched at some point by the Mississippi River. He accredits pioneership to the author of *Innocents Abroad* for things written by Irving in *The Salmagundi Papers* and by Emerson in the verses on Naples and Rome. He forgets "Evangeline" in enthusiasm for Mark Twain's vast canvases. Furthermore, in this as in other parts of the book Professor Pattee lays his more sober judgments open to question. He excludes *Prince and Pauper* and *Joan of Arc* from the list of his contributions to American classics, apparently on the sole ground that they are not on American subject-matter, while including *Innocents Abroad* with its no more striking American point of view. And again he shows carelessness in attributing to Mark Twain a passage in *The Gilded Age* (p. 6) which was written by his collaborator, Charles Dudley Warner.

Finally, Professor Pattee supplies in this chapter such characteristic slips in sentence structure as the following: "There is in all he wrote a lack of refinement, kept at a minimum, to be sure, by his wife, who for years was his editor and severest critic, but likely at any moment to crop out"; and "He struck out into the Toulumne Hills with Jim Gillis as a pocket miner."

Toward the end of the book the author seems to have forgotten the nationalism which so absorbed his attention in the early chapters. On no other ground can one understand the scant and unsatisfactory treatment of those who should have been the central figures in the chapter on "The

Later Poets." No mention is made of E. R. Sill's leavening influence as a culture medium of the East, the Pacific Slope, and the Middle West; none, of Gilder's stirring songs of civic life, many of them in free verse; none, of Hovey's excited militarism in response to the bugle notes of the Spanish War. And no mention of any sort is made of the one indubitable major poet since 1870—William Vaughn Moody.

This brief comment has dealt perforce with the defects of the work in hand; and now the available space is used up. It remains to be said at the end as at the beginning that in spite of these defects this *History of American Literature since 1870* contains a great deal of information, and offers a survey which as yet can be found nowhere else.

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Jacke Jugeler. Edited by W. H. WILLIAMS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914. Pp. xxii+75.

In form and presswork Professor William's edition of *Jacke Jugeler* is very artistic. In the main the editing is excellent. The text seems to be an exact reprint of the unique original except for a few less essential details such as the failure to mark the folios of the original and to indicate the expansion of ampersand. The only known fragment from a later edition is printed in an appendix. A valuable series of notes is replete with citations of the passages from Plautus which influenced the wording of the play and with illustrations from contemporary literature to explain the colloquialisms and slang expressions that abound. In the introduction are presented the actual facts known in regard to the date and production of the play, and here the editor has also attempted to establish Udall's authorship of the interlude—but without success, I think.

The evidence for Udall's authorship is primarily that of parallel phrases. Features indicating individual peculiarities, such as the unusual spellings listed in the introduction and the Chaucerian expressions traced in the notes, suggest a field for study not utilized by the editor, but the parallels to Udall's phraseology listed offer no example of the individuality that marks an author as a phrase-builder. Indeed, the editor's own notes show that the greater number of these parallels are well established bits of comic patter, and doubtless others traced here only in Udall's work could be found elsewhere. "Arayed," for instance, is used in the same sense by Skelton. Without some tangible bit of evidence that the play is by Udall, the long argument that in the epilogue Udall represents himself as having been made a scapegoat in his conviction and dismissal from Eton has no value. Udall's own words confessing guilt can hardly be interpreted as favorably as Professor Williams would interpret them. On the other hand, the explanation of the

epilogue as a veiled attack on Catholicism with allusions to transubstantiation (Boas, *Cambridge History of English Literature*, V, 120) seems to fit both the time of the production of the interlude and the wording of the epilogue.

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C. R. BASKERVILL

Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama. A Study in Stage Tradition.

By VICTOR OSCAR FREEBURG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1915. Pp. ix+241.

Dr. Freeburg's *Disguise Plots* is a book full of valuable material. Hundreds of European stories and plays are either analyzed or listed. The general plan of the volume, too, is excellent—to discuss the dramatic value of disguise, then to give a history of the development of the various conventions, and finally to classify the uses of disguise in the Elizabethan drama. But the expectation of a scientific study and classification of disguise motives raised by such a plan and such a bulk of material is only partly realized. One can ordinarily pardon many shortcomings in the handling of a vast body of material, but in this particular case little value attaches to a discussion of the well known conventions of disguise—commonplaces to the student of the drama—unless the treatment is made final. The artificial limit to plays before 1616 leaves the study incomplete—an incompleteness emphasized by the author's constant references to later plays—and the failure to discuss disguise conventions that are not included in his six categories causes him to relegate some plays to notes or passing reference. *The Alchemist* and *Eastward Ho*, for example, are not definitely placed. But the chapter on "Origin and Extent" is the weakest in the book. Instead of a definite study of conventions that influenced the Elizabethan drama, an eclectic method is followed by which whatever has come within the author's range is accumulated, and relations are indicated in haphazard fashion. Rogue literature is neglected in connection with "multiple disguise." Of the *Ingannati* plot and its numerous congeners down to *Twelfth Night* the author says, "It would require considerable time and skill to analyze and study those plots thoroughly, and to ascertain their relations with *Twelfth Night*" (p. 47). But surely this early modification of the Plautine twin idea by the disguise motive in the interest of romantic comedy is exceedingly important for the fusion of classical comedy and romantic story, and should be placed in its relation to the extensive romantic comedy of the Renaissance in England. In connection with the discussion of origins, a more systematic classification of all disguise material from which the Elizabethan drama drew should have been made, and at least a brief classification of other motives to which the disguise motive is readily added should have been given. Only then would a discriminating discussion of Elizabethan conventions be possible.

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